

A PETITION
REGARDING THE CONDITIONS
in the
C.S.M. Prison at Columbia, S.C.

ADDRESSED
to the
CONFEDERATE AUTHORITIES

by

Col. John Fraser

Later Second Chancellor
of the University of Kansas

edited by
George L. Anderson

LAWRENCE, KANSAS
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Foreword

To students, faculty members, and friends of The University of Kansas, the flags flying from the twin towers of Fraser Hall are a familiar sight. The flag of the United States and the flag of the University responding in unison to every shift in the wind sweeping across Mount Oread seem to symbolize the vital role that institutions of higher education have played in the history of the nation. But the men and women who knew John Fraser in the college town of Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, a century ago, would doubtless have seen in the symbolism of the two flags a key of particular significance in understanding the life of the quiet but learned Scotsman. To them one flag to honor and recall his service to the nation as an educator, and the other to recognize and venerate his service to the nation as a military leader would have seemed an appropriate reminder of the man who turned from the lectern to the sword; from the classroom to the battlefield; and from the tree-shaded campus to the grim and barren prison camp.

For John Fraser, the pathway from a village in Scotland to the dismal bit of ground in South Carolina had been a long and sometimes tortuous one. From school to school as student or teacher; from battlefield to battlefield as leader of his unit; from prison camp to prison camp as a prisoner of war, the long journey had led from Scotland to the Bermudas, to New York, to Pennsylvania, to Virginia; to Chancellorsville, to Gettysburg, to Spottsylvania, to Petersburg; to Libby Prison in Richmond, to Macon, to Charleston, and, finally, to Camp Sorghum, near Columbia, South Carolina.

During the final stages of his military career, John Fraser carried a small leather-covered notebook. There is a poignant quality in the little memorandum book, which contains only a fragmentary record of Fraser's confinement as a prisoner of war. Of the fifty pages, approximately four inches by six inches in size, nineteen, immediately following the final draft of the petition, have been cut out. The absence of these pages is an intriguing characteristic of the notebook.

Of the portion of the book which has survived, the greater part is devoted to four drafts of a petition prepared by Fraser on behalf of about fourteen hundred fellow prisoners as well as himself, and directed to Lieutenant General William J. Hardee, Commanding

Officer of the Confederate States Military Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, requesting decent and adequate food, sufficient shelter, and treatment consistent with the professed ideals of a civilized society. A record of food purchased to supplement the prison fare covering a period of two weeks, a few miscellaneous notes, and a list containing the names of 160 fellow prisoners complete the book.

There are no data to indicate the location of the notebook for a period of nearly eighty years. It is likely that Fraser kept it in his personal archives until his death on June 4, 1878. It is likewise probable that Mrs. Fraser retained possession of the book and that she had it during the time that she lived in the home of her nephew, W. C. Quarles, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. On April 23, 1943, J. V. Quarles, also of Milwaukee, transmitted to Chancellor Deane W. Malott of the University of Kansas a package of material containing copies of commissions, some photographs, some clippings, and what he described as John Fraser's "original diary kept during his confinement at Libby Prison." Early in May, 1943, Chancellor Malott acknowledged the receipt of the articles and committed them to the care of The University of Kansas Libraries.

The writer is indebted to Robert Vosper, Director of University Libraries, for the opportunity to edit the Fraser booklet for publication in The University of Kansas Library Series; to Robert L. Quinsey for arranging for publication and for his patient understanding during the period when other responsibilities made completion of the task impossible; to Alice Forssberg, undergraduate research assistant, for innumerable instances of helpfulness; and to David C. Skaggs, graduate student in history, for invaluable assistance in identifying the men whose names appear in the notebook.

GEORGE L. ANDERSON

Department of History
The University of Kansas
June, 1961.

Introduction

The twenty-second of the month was an eventful day on at least three occasions in the life of John Fraser. On March 22, 1827, he was born in Cromarty, Scotland; on August 22, 1862, he completed the recruitment of what was to become Company G of the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers; and on June 22, 1864, he was taken prisoner at Petersburg, Virginia. The interval of time between the first two dates, so far as the mature years were concerned, was characterized by the launching of a distinguished career in the field of education. A period of study at the University of Edinburgh was followed by additional work at the University of Aberdeen. The latter institution graduated Fraser with honors in 1844, and awarded him the coveted Huttonian prize in Mathematics. A six year term on the staff of The Hamilton Institute in the Bermuda Islands was terminated when ill health forced him to seek a different climate. A brief period in New York as principal of a private school and a somewhat longer period in Connelville, Pennsylvania, first as a tutor and then as the founder and head of a private academy, preceded his appointment as Professor of Mathematics on the staff of Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, in 1855.¹

The Canonsburg Academy and Library Company, chartered in 1794, became Jefferson College in January, 1802. Here John Fraser was to win the affection and respect of his students and to become for many of them their favorite teacher. Here too he was to become acquainted not only with a great many distinguished Pennsylvanians, but also with a number of students from the southern states who were later to serve in the armies of the Confederacy. In the classrooms of Jefferson College, the smallish Scots professor not only taught mathematics and astronomy, but sought by eloquent word and personal example to inculcate in his students the civic and Christian virtues which he deemed to be of fundamental importance. Perhaps Jefferson College was one of the institutions that Morison and Commager had in mind when they wrote, "But for an integrated education, one that cultivates manliness and makes gentlemen as well as scholars, one that disciplines the social affections and trains young men to faith in God, consideration for his fellow man,

and respect for learning, America has never had the equal of her little hill-top colleges."²

On the campus of Jefferson College John Fraser studied and taught for the seven years from 1855 to 1862. A man of considerable learning, his principal teaching field was mathematics. Very soon after beginning his career at Jefferson, he turned to astronomy and, so it is said, caused to be installed the first observatory west of the Allegheny mountains. But Fraser did not always stick to the subject matter of his courses. On occasions, it is reported that "the little professor" would launch into lectures of great eloquence on matters related to the kind of responsible individuals college students should be. It must have been a particularly dramatic moment in the lives of his students when on that summer day in 1862, he announced that he was going to abandon the classroom for the chaos and suffering of the battlefield; to put off the role of teacher and assume that of recruiter; and to exchange the role of the observer for that of the active participant.

The forces of the United States had suffered a severe defeat before Richmond in that near-disastrous summer of 1862. President Abraham Lincoln, sensing the threat to the Union, had issued his call for 300,000 volunteers to serve for three years. That call was heard on the quiet lawn of Jefferson College in Canonsburg. Some of the students had served for short enlistment periods early in the war, and had returned to college to complete their studies. But the call to arms came again, and the young men of Jefferson College joined young men from all parts of the North, and joined their highly respected teacher, John Fraser, in responding with "We are coming, Father Abraham."

One of the students in Fraser's classroom on that memorable day in August recalled some fifty years later that his teacher had said in effect, "Young gentlemen—This is our last hour of recitation together. The country needs strong and brave defenders, and since I am sound in mind and limb, I see no good reason why I should not enroll myself with them. After the exercises of Commencement Day I shall make the attempt to enlist a company from this town and its vicinity."³

And enlist a company Fraser did, in the short span of time from August 11 to August 21, 1862: ten days to persuade nearly one

hundred young men to join him in response to Lincoln's call. He was assisted in his duties by William H. Bingham, one of the recent graduates of the college, and Wilson N. Paxton. Moreover, Fraser's closing words to his last class had caused many of the students who heard them to cast their lot with him. Thus it was that the Canonsburg Brown Infantry, or Company G of the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry, as it was to be designated, became known as a company of college men. When the one hundred and two men were formally mustered into the army of the United States on August 22, 1862, the first period in the life of John Fraser was closed, yet not before the people of Canonsburg had arranged for a farewell reception in the Jefferson College Chapel, at which, in addition to the speeches and addresses, a copy of the New Testament was given to each one of the new recruits. In the days ahead in the "Wheat Field" at Gettysburg and in the "Bloody Angle" at Spottsylvania, the young men were to need all of the resources that their religious and educational training could furnish to them. And after these and other battles John Fraser, their Captain, and Wilson N. Paxton, their first Lieutenant, were going to need all of the resources that they could summon in order to survive the hardships of Camp Sorghum.

In August, 1862, Professor Fraser exchanged his academic garb for the uniform of the soldier. In September, 1864, he stood on a pile of ashes in a prison yard in South Carolina "bareheaded and barefooted and with no clothing but a ragged shirt and torn pantaloons" lecturing to his fellow prisoners on Shakespeare.⁴ The events between these two scenes began with a trip in spring wagons and carriages to Camp Howe, near Pittsburgh. Here the company from Canonsburg was joined by companies from Beaver and Washington counties. On September 5, the new recruits were taken to Camp Curtin near Harrisburg, where the organization of the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers was completed and approved. On the Sunday following their arrival at Camp Curtin, Fraser's Company, now Company G of the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania, was invited to attend the services of the Pine Street Presbyterian Church, whose Pastor, the Reverend Dr. William C. Cattell, was a warm personal friend of John Fraser. Robert Laird Stewart, the historian of the One Hun-

dred and Fortieth Pennsylvania Volunteers, has noted the fact that one of the young men, John N. Paxton, who sat with the Company in the center of the Church on that Sunday in September, 1862, returned after a little more than ten years to become the pastor of the church.

The formal organization of the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania was completed on September 8, 1862. On this occasion John Fraser was chosen to be the Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment.⁵ The commanding officer was Richard P. Roberts of Beaver County. The next day the One Hundred and Fortieth was ordered to leave camp in company with the One Hundred and Forty Eighth Pennsylvania whose commanding officer, Colonel James A. Beaver, had studied under Fraser. The first military assignment was to guard a twenty mile section of the North Central Railway located between Parkville and Lutherville. The occasion for the guard duty was the movement northward across the Potomac toward Frederick, of General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia. No serious fighting occurred, but malarial and typhoid fevers took their toll of the One Hundred and Fortieth. The character of the regiment is indicated to some degree by the fact that while in camp near Parkton Station, as on many later occasions, brief prayer services were held in the company streets before the duties of the day were begun.

In December, the Regiment left for Washington by way of Baltimore where a sight-seeing trip was permitted. The travelling was in rough, unheated freight cars. The delay in receiving their orders exempted the One Hundred and Fortieth from participating in the humiliating defeat of the Union Army at Fredericksburg. On later occasions Fraser's Regiment was to suffer from delayed or misunderstood orders rather than benefit from them. From Washington the Regiment was marched to Falmouth on the Rappahannock River just opposite the city of Fredericksburg. Here the Regiment, now a part of the Third Brigade, First Division, Second Army Corps, Right Grand Division, of the Army of the Potomac, prepared to spend the winter. Thus began the association of the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania with the Second Army Corps, an association that was to endure until the remnants of the Regiment stood at attention near the spot where General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox Courthouse on April 9, 1865. It was not

until after the middle of January that Fraser's men received their new Springfield rifles and thus were more adequately prepared for active service. This was scheduled to commence on January 20, 1863, but heavy rains and an early thaw combined with the resignation of General Ambrose Burnside to produce three additional months in camp. While the army of some 100,000 men, now commanded by General Joseph Hooker, settled into winter quarters, the days were passed in drill, in fighting lice ("graybacks"), and in picket duty which was often lightened for the men by conversations with their counterparts in the Confederate Army. During this period great emphasis was placed on corps organization, a development which was accompanied by the adoption of corps badges. The trefoil was assigned to the Second Corps as its device, and red became the color of the First Division. The frequent reviews included one on April 8, 1863, when President Abraham Lincoln, accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln and their two sons, and Secretary of State William H. Seward reviewed the Army in full sight of the Confederate troops across the Rappahannock.

But the interval of relative calm, the "sitzkrieg" of the war, came to an end on April 21, 1863, when General Hooker in command of an army of 130,000 men, said by Stewart to have been "the largest and best equipped military force" ever assembled on the continent of North America, began a series of feints and maneuvers. Thus began the ill-fated campaign which was to conclude with the battle of Chancellorsville. Thus, too, the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania was to receive its first experience under fire. The Second Army Corps bore the brunt of the attack which began auspiciously for the Union, but ended in the retreat of a discouraged and humiliated army back to the winter quarters at Falmouth. Although the casualties in Company G of the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania were not large, the First Division suffered severely and the overall strength of Hooker's Army was reduced, by casualties and the expiration of enlistments, to little more than two-thirds of its original strength.

After Chancellorsville the road for Fraser and the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania led northward toward Gettysburg. By early June, it was known that General Robert E. Lee was moving north on the west side of the Blue Ridge Mountains. By mid-June,

General Winfield Scott Hancock had taken command of the Second Army Corps and General John C. Caldwell of the First Division. As matters worked out it was this unit which became the rear guard of the entire Union Army as it moved in the stifling heat across the Bull Run battlefield, through Monocacy Junction, to Frederick, and finally to Taneytown where on July 1, 1863, the news came that the battle of Gettysburg was in progress. In the meantime the Union forces had been defeated in the initial phases of the battle and Major General George G. Meade had assumed command of the Army of the Potomac. The march up the Taneytown Road brought the First Division to a point near Little Round Top. The Devil's Den, the Wheat Field, and the Peach Orchard became during the late afternoon of July 2, 1863, intimately entwined with the life of Lieutenant Colonel John Fraser. Before the end of the carnage he became the ranking officer of the Third Brigade, rallied his men, and encouraged them to maintain their position even when nearly surrounded. A few days later he was made commanding officer of his Brigade.⁶ Although the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania did not become closely involved in the fighting until after 6 o'clock in the afternoon nearly one-half of the officers and men were numbered among the casualties before darkness brought the charges and counter-charges to an end. Of the portion of the battlefield where Fraser was present—the Wheat Field—Joseph Hoke has said, "With the probable exception of the bloody angle at Spottsylvania, on no other place of equal extent upon this continent has so much human blood been shed."⁷ In fact, Fraser and the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania participated in both of these engagements. Company G, Fraser's unit, lost during the twilight hours of July 2nd twenty-two killed and wounded out of the sixty men who went into the battle. One of its officers, Lieutenant Wilson N. Paxton was taken prisoner, and although he began his tour of the Confederate prison camps nearly a year before Fraser did, the two men met and were messmates and close companions at Camp Sorghum.

In reporting the activities of his Division General Caldwell stated that the conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Fraser "was worthy of all praise," and in another place commended him for his "soldierly performance."⁸ Stewart, in evaluating the significance of his regiment's role in the conflict, asserts, "We . . . , with the coopera-

tion of those who were sent out to our rescue, saved Little Round Top, the key to the Gettysburg line; saving this we saved the day and saved the Union.”⁹ Even if general agreement on the validity of this conclusion is lacking it does serve to indicate the importance of the events in which John Fraser participated.

Caring for the wounded and the dead occupied the remainder of the night of July 2nd. On the next day in company with considerable portions of both armies Fraser and his men were spectators as General George E. Pickett made his famous attempt to break the Union line. The nation's birthday was spent in building more adequate entrenchments, but this proved unnecessary because of the decision of General Lee to withdraw his Army to its quarters in Virginia. General Caldwell's Division was now in the forefront as the Army of the Potomac moved through Frederick, Antietam, and Hagerstown. Against the advice of nearly all of his corps commanders, General Meade on July 14, 1863, decided to attack Lee at the Falling Water Ford on the Potomac with Caldwell's troops leading the charge. But during the night Lee moved his Army across the Potomac. Thus the "Great Invasion" of Pennsylvania was ended. With its termination the Army of the Potomac returned to the banks of the Rappahannock and the Rapidan.

Except for its transfer to the First Brigade under command of Colonel Nelson A. Miles, and its crucial and gallant participation in the battles of Bristoe Station and Mine Run, the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania spent the months from August, 1863, until May, 1864, in camp on the Rapidan. Drills, reviews, social festivities, chapel services, and picket line duty served to pass the time. On March 10, 1864, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant was made the commander of all of the Armies of the United States. As the Army of the Potomac was being readied for the Richmond Campaign of May-June, 1864, Colonel Fraser's superior officers in the chain of command were as follows: Colonel Nelson A. Miles, commanding the First Brigade; Brigadier General Francis C. Barlow, commanding the First Division; and Major General Winfield S. Hancock, commanding the Second Corps.

Although the Army of the Potomac was still under the direct command of Major General George G. Meade, the newly appointed commander-in-chief, Lieutenant General Ulysses S. Grant, chose to

cast his lot with it and to make its headquarters his principal base for the planning of overall strategy. In preparation for the fateful days that lay ahead the five divisions of the Army of the Potomac were reorganized into three. On April 22, 1864, the entire command was reviewed by General Grant, a certain indication that the time for launching a massive attack upon the Army of Northern Virginia was at hand.

On that bright April day, Colonel John Fraser could not have foreseen that days of maddening frustration would stretch into weeks of bitter disappointment and into months of tragic suffering and despair. But this was to be the fate of Colonel Fraser and of the men who served with him. There would be days of tortuous struggle in the wilderness, and hours of carnage in the "Bloody Angle" at Spottsylvania and at Cold Harbor. There would be times when the terrain and even the elements would seem to combine with the foe to produce insuperable odds. And there would be inaccurate knowledge of the battlefield, inadequate communication facilities, and incorrect information on the strength and location of the adversary. Finally, after nearly two months of marching all night and fighting all day, a time of defeat and imprisonment would come for John Fraser.

First there were to be the Battles of the Wilderness during the early days of May. Because of mistaken or misunderstood orders the First Division, to which the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania Volunteers belonged, was not involved in the bloodiest phases of the early days of the campaign. But the events of May 9th and 10th more than offset this short reprieve. In his attempt to outflank Lee's position on the Po River, Grant left the First Division in an exposed location where it bore the brunt of several frontal assaults. Fraser's regiment narrowly escaped capture on this occasion and was the last to withdraw to a position of greater safety. The sharp fighting on the banks of the Po was but a pale image of what was to come when the One Hundred and Fortieth was selected together with the other units of Miles' brigade to make a frontal assault on the salient at Spottsylvania. After an all night march through rain and mud, the attack was made during the early hours of May 12. Although the initial charge of the Union troops was successful, the Confederate leaders were not willing to concede

the issue. For more than ten hours hand-to-hand fighting of the deadliest sort took place in the "Bloody Angle." Here it was that Colonel Fraser was wounded and was compelled to give up the command of his regiment which had suffered its heaviest losses since Gettysburg.¹⁰

It is not known where Colonel Fraser convalesced from his wound. It is probable that he spent some time in the field hospital before being returned to Washington, and he may well have made a short visit to his home in Canonsburg. Meanwhile, the Army of the Potomac pushed toward Richmond. Across the North Anna River and Totopotony Creek, and the James River the weary and difficult route was followed. The days of May ran their course and at the beginning of June came the battle of Cold Harbor. Here within sight of Richmond and on the same field where McClellan and Lee had fought two years before, the opposing armies battled to a costly and inconclusive draw. Here hundreds of sick and wounded men trapped between the lines were to die because the commanders of the armies could not agree on a procedure for bringing them in.

Now Petersburg had become the objective and the Chickahominy Creek and the James River had to be crossed. In masterful fashion the Army of the Potomac numbering more than 100,000 was moved to the south of Richmond. But it was an army that had been repulsed, even defeated; an army that had lost some of its best officers and fighting men; an army that had lost some of its drive and enthusiasm, especially for frontal assaults on fortified positions. And this is exactly the problem which confronted Grant at Petersburg—fortified positions or redans in depth. Again, misunderstood or inadequate orders played a fateful role. The Union troops reached the vicinity of Petersburg before Lee was able to send reinforcements. The initial attack breached the defenses and Petersburg seemed to be on the verge of capture, but the supporting troops were still back on the banks of the James. By the time they reached the scene of the battle it was too late. In an attempt to retrieve the advantage and to cut an important railroad line into Petersburg, General Grant on the 21st of June sent the Sixth Corps under General Horatio G. Wright and the Second Corps under General Birney on a flanking movement to the south of the entrenched position of the

Confederates. Unfortunately, in assuming their positions the two units left a gap in their lines. Into this gap General A. P. Hill ordered his troops to advance. The result was a humiliating defeat for the Second Army Corps, and the loss of several guns and seventeen hundred prisoners, among them Colonel John Fraser who had just returned to service and had been assigned to command the Fourth Brigade of the First Division of the Second Army Corps. Upon orders of his Division Commander, General Nelson A. Miles, Fraser had held his position until it was too late to escape. Sometime on the 22nd of June during the confused fighting in the dense woods near Petersburg he was taken prisoner and a new period in his military career was begun.¹¹

The sequence of events in the life of Colonel John Fraser, prisoner of war, must be reconstructed for the most part from the accounts of some of his fellow officers who were taken prisoner at the same time or who became his companions on the grand tour of the prison camps.¹² Immediately after their capture Fraser and his fellow officers were taken to Petersburg and placed on an island in the Appomattox River. On June 24th they were taken by rail to Richmond where they became acquainted first hand with Libby Prison. Until their arrival at Libby the officers did not receive rations of any sort. While at Libby they were searched and, according to the extant accounts, deprived of all their possessions. After four days in Libby Prison the officers were taken to Lynchburg, Virginia, and from there were marched to Danville. After spending the 4th of July near Danville, Fraser and his companions were taken in overcrowded freight cars to Macon, Georgia.

It is not certain how long Fraser was imprisoned at Macon. Some of the groups arrived from Danville on July 10 and some of the members of these groups were taken to Savannah, Georgia, and kept there until the middle of September. In response to the pressure of General William T. Sherman's campaign the prisoners who had been retained at Macon were started for Charleston, South Carolina, on August 10, 11, and 12. Whatever the periods of detention at Macon and Savannah, it is almost certain that the contingent of Union prisoners to which Fraser belonged spent the weeks from September 13 to October 5 in the Jail Yard prison at Charleston. On October 5 or 6 the prisoners were moved to Camp

Sorghum near Columbia where they remained until December 12, 1864, when they were taken to Camp Asylum, also near Columbia. From this point forward the record is even less clear. It seems safe to conclude that the majority of the prisoners was started northward on February 18, 1865, that they reached Goldsboro, North Carolina, on the 20th, Wilmington on the 28th, and that they were released about March 1, 1865. Thus ended more than eight months of imprisonment for John Fraser.¹³

A full scale analysis of the treatment of northern prisoners-of-war in the military prisons of the Confederate States is not contemplated in this study,¹⁴ but rather an analysis of the statements of one prisoner against the background of data provided by some of his fellow prisoners and by some Confederate officials. Moreover, the complexities of the problem and the subjective character of much of the material warrant a sharp focus upon Fraser's statement in the final paragraph of his petition. "In conclusion," he said, "we can affirm with truth that we have not exaggerated anything or set down aught in malice." In assessing this affirmation it should be remembered that only the officer prison camps at Richmond (Libby), Macon, Charleston (Workhouse yard and Roper Hospital), and Columbia (Camp Sorghum) are involved and that the chronological period under examination must be limited to the period from June 22, 1864, until the end of November, 1864. It seems reasonable to assume that Fraser based his statements upon first-hand information and personal experiences which had occurred subsequent to his imprisonment and prior to the writing of the final draft of the petition. As an unwilling participant in the sequence of events to which he alludes, and as a sufferer from the practices which he wished to be ameliorated, the author of the petition was primarily concerned with six categories of grievances: food and rations, shelter, clothing and blankets, utensils and tools, fuel for cooking, and the detention of letters, money, and boxes.

In order to provide some basis for evaluating Fraser's assertions the statement of fellow-prisoners who travelled the dreary way from Libby to Camp Sorghum will be summarized.¹⁵ After a preliminary reference to "rations short in quantity and very inferior in quality," Fraser declared that the daily allowances at Camp Sorghum consisted of "one pint of *unbolted* cornmeal, one-half pint of

molasses, one-tenth pint of rice, one-fourth of a tablespoonful of salt, with *occasionally* one-fifth of a pint of very bad flour." By contrast with the descriptions of other writers, Fraser's presentation of the daily ration is a model of moderation and understatement. Several days without food after the capture at Petersburg and on other occasions during the weeks of confinement;¹⁶ dirty, black-pea soup distributed from a half-barrel to those who had cups to receive it, and maggoty bacon at Libby;¹⁷ a small supply of hardtack, or alternatively some pieces of cornbread two inches square to sustain the prisoners on the seventy-five mile march from Lynchburg to Danville;¹⁸ wormy rice at Charleston;¹⁹ much reduced rations at Camp Sorghum²⁰—these are but a few of the details added by other writers. Just as Fraser omitted such words as "putrid," "filthy," and "slimy," in describing the food and even referred to the principal ingredient of the ration as "unbolted cornmeal" rather than "cob-meal," so he gave the Confederate prison authorities credit for supplying larger quantities than did most of his fellow prisoners who prepared descriptive statements. In some accounts the daily ration of corn meal was put at three-fifths of a pint, the sorghum reduced to "a little," and the rice, flour, and salt omitted altogether.²¹ Although there are several references to the distribution of fresh beef and pork at Macon and at Charleston, there is general agreement that there was no issue of meat from early October, 1864, until the first of March, 1865.²² Moreover, there is complete unanimity on the failure of the prison authorities to supply fresh vegetables at any time.

In some accounts the absence of meat from the prison ration is emphasized by the inclusion of vivid descriptions of the pursuit, killing, and immediate butchering of a stray hog, and by reference to the abortive attempt to hide the carcasses of two hounds that had been killed in the camp.²³ Mention of the lack of fresh vegetables is usually accompanied by detailed comments upon the incidence and long range effects of scurvy.²⁴ Similarly there is almost complete agreement on the conclusion that the regular diet of coarse cornmeal and sorghum was responsible for the chronic diarrhoea from which all of the inmates suffered.²⁵ In view of this effect of the rations it is remarkable that Fraser omitted all mention of the

prison sanitary facilities which must have been particularly primitive and revolting.²⁶

Were rations inadequate in quantity and inferior in quality a part of Confederate prison policy or were they dictated by the scarcity of food in the Confederacy? This is the persistent question posed by the allegations of the Union prisoners. The principal evidence in support of their answer that it was part of a deliberate policy stems from the availability at exorbitant prices in the officer prisons of supplies of fresh meats and vegetables, through the agency of a prison sutler. The prisoner argument may be put very simply. If the sutlers were able to obtain supplies of food and sell them at fantastically high prices, why could not the prison authorities get such supplies and distribute them as part of the regular ration?²⁷ The Fraser notebook reveals that from September 13th to September 26th, he and his two messmates were able to purchase additional supplies of food. In all likelihood this was the period when Fraser and his fellow officers were incarcerated in the Charleston Workhouse (Jail Yard) Prison or in Roper Marine Hospital. By general agreement the rations and the opportunities to purchase food were better at Charleston than at any of the other prisons. Here it was that Fraser and his associates added milk, eggs, cabbage, potatoes, okra, bread, and onions to their meagre diet at a total cost of \$119.55, Confederate money, during the fourteen day period. Milk was 75 cents a pint, eggs from \$2.25 to \$6.00 a dozen, bread at least 75 cents a loaf, and butter \$11.00 a pound.²⁸

It is difficult to compare Fraser's prices with those given by other prisoners because the exact dates and places are not always given. Suffice it to say that in other accounts bread is said to have cost \$2.00 a loaf, butter \$25.00 a pound, sweet potatoes \$25.00 a bushel, eggs \$2.00 each or \$24.00 a dozen, pork \$7.00 a pound, and beef \$10.00 a pound.²⁹ Although the sutler seems to have had less freedom at Camp Sorghum than had been the case at Charleston, apparently extra supplies were available at a price.³⁰ The process was described by Major Moncena Dunn in the following statement, "A few officers were so fortunate as to have money with which they could purchase supplies of the rebels. There was a regular system of supplying the camp [Camp Sorghum] in that way by the means of a sutler who would bring his provisions—beef, veal, mutton, sweet

potatoes, flour, bread, and butter, in fact, almost all the necessities of life—into camp, which were sold at exorbitant prices.”³¹

The immediate question which arises is where did Fraser and his fellow prisoners get the money? According to most accounts they were searched and relieved of all of their possessions including money, knives, canteens, haversacks, blankets, and hats at Libby Prison within a few hours after capture.³² Apparently records were kept and in some instances individual officers received credits in Confederate money on the sutler's book.³³ In other instances the prisoners sold whatever items they retained such as buttons, suspenders, hats, vests, and even their boots to buy food.³⁴ Seemingly the most characteristic method, and the one which Fraser probably employed, was to give a sutler, a broker, or as in one instance, “a blockade running speculator,” either a draft drawn on a northern friend or relative, or a power of attorney to collect pay from the paymaster of the prisoner's military unit.³⁵ It was stated by one prisoner that the promissory note or draft would usually carry an endorsement such as the following, “The bearer, _____, has, in an hour of great need and distress, in a Christian and Samaritan spirit, advanced me the sum of \$_____ in gold, and saved me from much misery and suffering. Please pay and confer a personal favor on me.”³⁶ Needless to say, all forms of funds were converted into Confederate currency.³⁷ The official rate of exchange was fixed by A. R. Lawton, Quartermaster General of the Confederacy, but the actual rate varied with the time, the place, and the parties to the transaction.³⁸ The prisoners who succeeded in retaining United States money were able in some instances to exchange at a rate of twenty to one.³⁹ The prison authorities tried to enforce a five to one rate, and, on occasion, when drafts or notes were resorted to, the basis of exchange was only two to one even when the instrument called for settlement in gold rather than greenbacks.⁴⁰

There are extremely few references in the statements made by the prisoners to instances of individual philanthropy on the part of southern residents. If some credence can be placed in the testimony provided by those who shared Fraser's experiences, the people in the cities and towns resented the presence of the prisoners and considered that whatever was given to them was too much and too good.⁴¹ A gift from a fellow member of the Masonic lodge; the consistent,

but small scale efforts of the Sisters of Charity in Charleston; and an occasional crust of bread or cup of water from a by-stander, seem to have been the only exceptions to the general attitude of hostility and indifference.⁴² The prisoners had to depend for their survival upon the official rations supplemented by what they could buy with their own funds.⁴³

As it was with food, so it was with shelter. The recurring references to the lack of shelter almost constitute the *leitmotif* of the Fraser petition. “. . . Not a structure of the humblest kind . . .,” “. . . rudimentary shelters of pine branches . . .,” “. . . twenty tents and ten tent flies . . . for fourteen hundred officers”: all of these phrases indicate that Fraser was preoccupied with the problem of shelter. But preoccupied as he was, Fraser’s comments are much milder than those of some of his fellow prisoners. After their capture most of them became familiar with the tobacco warehouses in Richmond which were used for Libby Prison, the fair-grounds at Macon, the jail yard at Charleston, and the open field that was dubbed Camp Sorghum.⁴⁴ In effect they had experienced a worsening degree of protection from the elements, until finally they stood in the rain with mud for a bed and the stormy sky for a roof.⁴⁵ To supplement the few tents that were issued, some dug holes in the ground and covered them with brush and dirt; others simply burrowed in to the ground. A few built booths and arbors of pine branches and some even endeavored to build log shanties on the site. But ventures of this sort could not be undertaken until the deadlines were extended and the men were allowed to go out in groups to obtain wood for fuel and shelter.⁴⁶ Because of the shortage of tools and because the material had to be carried for considerable distances, the cold, wet weather of November and December descended on the camp before shelters sufficient to cover all of the men had been erected.⁴⁷

In the matter of tools as in the statements concerning rations and shelter Fraser’s assertions are moderate and tend to give the Confederate officers in charge of Camp Sorghum the benefit of the doubt. He speaks of twenty axes and fourteen spades; the estimates of his fellow-prisoners range from four to twelve axes and the only reference to spades placed the number at eight.⁴⁸ Moreover, it was

alleged by several that the six or eight or twelve axes were purchased from the sutler at a price of fifty dollars for each axe.⁴⁹

Moreover, it is clear that Fraser did not exaggerate the shortage of cooking utensils. His mild and ambiguous references to "a scanty supply of cooking utensils" becomes a direct and definite "no cooking utensils at Camp Sorghum" in the testimony of his associates.⁵⁰ A flat piece of iron, heated stones, and in one case an old iron spittoon were used for baking.⁵¹ The groups which had a tin pail or a kettle or a skillet for each twenty men considered themselves quite fortunate.⁵² On some occasions the linings of coats were used to receive the corn meal.⁵³ Knives and forks and spoons were almost unknown. Again, it was purchases from the sutler which filled the gap, and on occasion some fortunate prisoners fell heir to the utensils of their associates who were preparing to escape.⁵⁴

The problems of inadequate issues of uncooked rations and the almost complete absence of utensils were aggravated by the insufficient supply of fuel.⁵⁵ In spite of Fraser's almost casual reference to insufficient fuel for cooking there is reason to believe that this was a major grievance. At any rate after the prisoners had used up the little trees that stood within the limits of Camp Sorghum a number of officers petitioned the camp commander for permission to go into the surrounding areas for fuel. Even though the request was granted, it was asserted that fuel for cooking remained in such short supply that a dozen or more had to pool their twigs and splinters in order to build a satisfactory fire.⁵⁶

Fraser's allegation that the prisoners in Camp Sorghum were "insufficiently supplied" with clothing is supported by the testimony of his associates, and to an unusually conclusive degree by the statements of the Confederate officials. The many references to half-naked men without shoes or hats confirm the picture of Fraser in the Charleston Jailyard, bare-headed and bare-footed and clothed only in a torn shirt and a pair of ragged pants while lecturing to his comrades on Shakespeare or calculating the angle of fire of the Federal guns on Morris Island.⁵⁷ Although blankets were issued in almost inconsequential numbers, some of the prisoners tried to convert them into clothing.⁵⁸ Some fortunate prisoners were able to buy shoes from the sutler at \$100 a pair or to secure a shirt or a pair of drawers or a blanket from boxes of supplies sent in by the United

States Sanitary Commission.⁵⁹ That all expedients proved to be utterly inadequate is indicated by General John H. Winder's plaintive letter to General Samuel Cooper on December 15, 1864. In what may be accepted as an accurate statement of fact the Commissary General of Prisoners said, "I most respectfully ask the attention of the Department to the destitute condition of the prisoners of war at all the prisons in regard to clothing and blankets. They are suffering very much for want of them. I hope some measures may be immediately taken to supply the want."⁶⁰

Long before General Winder undertook to plead the cause of the prisoners for clothing and blankets, the Confederate army commanders in South Carolina had presented their requests to Richmond. Early in October, 1864, General Sam Jones asserted that a large part of his command needed shoes, and that there was general complaint because of the scarcity of clothing.⁶¹ Later in the same month General Hardee told the Quartermaster General, "I am greatly in need of shoes, clothing, and blankets for the use of this command. I understand that you have prohibited the issue of blankets for the present. Very many of my men are absolutely barefooted."⁶² It seems reasonable to conclude that what was not available to Confederate troops was not available to prisoners of war.

If the shortages of the Confederate troops provide a key to understanding the inadequate provisioning, sheltering, and clothing of the federal prisoners, ordinary human frailties plus the chaotic administration of the Confederate Military Prisons during the summer and autumn of 1865 may explain why letters, boxes, and money were not delivered to them.⁶³ Although this grievance is not emphasized in the statements of the other officers who were confined at Camp Sorghum, Fraser mentions the matter on two occasions in the final draft of his petition. There is ample evidence that his references to "very long detention of letters," "the provoking detention of letters, monies, and boxes," "only one mail . . . in forty days," were amply justified.⁶⁴ Moved constantly during the early weeks of their imprisonment, hurriedly transferred to Columbia before any facilities were prepared, and confined to prison when lines of communication were frequently broken, it is not surprising that Fraser and his fellow prisoners did not receive their letters and parcels with regularity and promptitude. Moreover, Confederate officials did not

know where the prisoners were confined and accurate rosters of the inmates of particular prisons were not kept.⁶⁵ As a result of confusion in policy and chaos in administration, parcels and boxes belonging to the federal prisoners of war accumulated in the warehouses of Richmond rather than in the hands of the men who were sorely in need of almost everything.⁶⁶

This brief examination of the six categories of allegations—rations, shelter, clothing, fuel, tools, and letters—warrants the conclusion that John Fraser had not “set down aught in malice” nor impaired his petition by “exaggeration or abuse.” Even if the statements of his fellow prisoners are discounted, those of the Confederate officials more than justify his moderate and restrained assertions. Moreover, it seems fair to conclude that the practices and conditions which elicited the Fraser petition had their principal source in the limited resources of the Confederacy. After June, 1864, other factors bearing upon the prisoner problem became operative. The severity of the fighting around Richmond, the increasing pressure resulting from General William T. Sherman’s campaign in Georgia and the Carolinas, the cessation of prisoner exchange, and the increasing effectiveness of the blockade combined to confront the Confederate States Government with an almost insuperable problem in dealing with its prisoners of war.

Of these factors, the cessation of prisoner exchange was particularly relevant to the condition in which John Fraser found himself after June 22, 1864.⁶⁷ During the early months of the war the exchanging and paroling of prisoners had been carried on regularly, although somewhat informally. On July 22, 1862, the practices then in use were regularized in an agreement that came to be known as the Cartel of 1862, which had as its objective “an equitable exchange of prisoners, man for man, and officer for officer. . . .” The principal effect of prisoner-exchange, whether formal or informal, was to reduce the number of prisoners to moderate and manageable proportions. While mutual recriminations, threats and counter-threats of retaliation, and the excess or deficiency of prisoners in the hands of one or the other of the belligerents had complicated the process of exchange from the beginning, it was not until the validity of the parole granted by General Ulysses S. Grant to Confederate troops taken prisoner at Vicksburg was questioned by the Confederacy,

and Confederate officials refused to accord equality of treatment to negro troops and to white officers of negro units, that the system collapsed and ceased to function. The excess of prisoners in Union hands, the impending presidential election of 1864, and the obvious fact that the Confederacy was nearer to exhaustion of both men and supplies than the Union, all stiffened the determination of the Union leaders, notably General Grant, to refuse exchange of prisoners save on terms of complete equality for whites and negroes and full recognition by the Confederacy that they could not use the men paroled by General Grant at Vicksburg until an equal number of Union prisoners had been declared exchanged. Whatever the causes for the cessation of prisoner-exchange the principal result was the accumulation in the South as well as in the North of tens of thousands of prisoners and the consequent establishment of prisons such as Andersonville, Millen, Salisbury, and Florence for enlisted men, and of Camp Sorghum for Federal officers. For John Fraser on June 22, 1864, the cessation of exchange meant imprisonment for the duration, or nearly so, rather than a brief period of confinement to be followed by a resumption of service with his command.

The frenetic attempts of the Confederate government to develop facilities for the confinement of the increasing number of Federal prisoners is well illustrated by the sequence of events that occurred in and near Columbia, South Carolina. Some time prior to the late summer of 1864 a small number of Federal officers were confined in the Richmond County jail, the "Jailhouse Prison" that is mentioned in some of the contemporary accounts. On August 18, 1864, a Confederate officer reported that there were 132 Federal officers, 99 Federal enlisted men, 27 Confederate officers, and some civilian prisoners in the jail. In concluding his report he recommended that the prisoners be moved to Charleston.⁶⁸

Meanwhile, Brigadier-General W. M. Gardner, commander of all Confederate military prisons east of the Mississippi River except those in Georgia and Alabama, had urged late in July, 1864, that the "officers' prison" at Columbia be enlarged to accommodate several thousand privates as an alternative to a new prison at Charlotte, North Carolina.⁶⁹ And in Charleston Major General Sam Jones was becoming increasingly disturbed by the turn of events which made his area of command the focal point for the care and confinement of

thousands of enlisted men from Andersonville and hundreds of Federal officers from Macon and Savannah. The fact that he had asked for six hundred Federal officers to be confined in Charleston under the fire of the Federal batteries on Morris Island did not simplify his problem.⁷⁰ In retaliation Major General John G. Foster, commander of the Union Troops, had placed six hundred Confederate officer-prisoners on Morris Island under the fire of their guns and had subjected them to the same treatment as to rations, shelter and clothing as he understood the Federal prisoners in the Jailyard Prison at Charleston to be receiving.⁷¹ Moreover, the yellow fever season had begun and General Jones was worried about the increasing incidence of the dreaded disease among the prisoners and its probable spread to the civilian population. Several times during early September, 1864, General Jones asked James A. Seddon, Confederate Secretary of War, to clarify the matter of jurisdiction over the prisoners in the Charleston area, to provide additional troops, and to give explicit directions as to what to do with the prisoners.⁷² In one of his communications he suggested that Columbia would be the logical place to send all of the prisoners, officers and enlisted men alike.⁷³

The troubles experienced by General Jones had been foreshadowed as early as July 11, 1864, when General Joseph E. Johnston had recommended the distribution of the federal prisoners at Andersonville.⁷⁴ As the tension created by the advance of General Sherman's army mounted the Confederate military officials in Richmond told General Jones that not only would he have to care for the prisoners already sent to him, but that he would have to prepare to receive additional contingents.⁷⁵ Finally, the almost distraught general took matters into his own hands and on September 29, 1864, advised Samuel Cooper, Adjutant General, in Richmond, "I have sent an officer to Columbia to endeavor to procure a place of confinement for Federal officers, prisoners, and will send all prisoners from here as soon as possible; the enlisted men all to Florence."⁷⁶

The precipitate, if not arbitrary, action of General Jones explains why it was that on October 5, 1864, some thirteen hundred Federal officers, John Fraser among them, "were turned into an open field, without shelter of any description." In reporting the establishment of the prison which was later to be known as "Camp Sorghum," to

General Braxton Bragg, Commander of the armies of the Confederate States, General Gardner said “. . . and in a camp about five miles from the city [Columbia] are 1,300 other officers recently sent from Charleston by Major General Sam Jones, without my knowledge or consent, and placed by him in charge of Captain E. A. Semple, whom I had sent there for another purpose, viz., to superintend the construction of a very large prison, which I am directed by the Secretary of War to have built. Captain Semple represents that these officers were thrown suddenly on his hands, giving him no time for preparation, and that he is in want of almost everything necessary for their accommodation.”⁷⁷

The tract of ground which was to be called Camp Sorghum, was some four or five acres in extent, with poor water and sanitary facilities, and with “a thin growth of scrubby pines” on it. On this unprepossessing spot John Fraser and his fellow prisoners were to be the unwelcomed and unwanted “guests” of the civilian and military authorities of South Carolina’s capital city. It is probable that the circumstances under which it was established explain the contradictory descriptions of Camp Sorghum by Confederate prison officials. Because of the discrepancies between them, these reports are valuable chiefly because they confirm the critical comments of the prisoners, and reveal some of the administrative confusion which compounded the hardships of prison life. About three weeks after the officers were transferred to Columbia, a member of the staff of the Confederate Inspector General wrote, “I have inspected the camp of the Federal officers here. Lieutenant-Colonel Means, a disabled officer, is in command. He is an efficient officer, attentive to his duties. He should have an assistant. . . . The guard is composed of very raw recruits both as to officers and men, and require constant watching and instruction. . . . The present guard is inadequate, 350 men, all very raw. The prisoners have no shelter, and if they are to remain at this place it would be easy to build winter quarters. If the prisoners remain they should be placed in an inclosure.”⁷⁸

This report was referred by successive endorsements until it came to the attention of James A. Seddon, Secretary of War of the Confederate States government. In the process General Gardner was called upon to explain the condition of affairs at Camp Sorghum. In a somewhat petulant note he reiterated his earlier statements,

saying, "These prisoners were sent to Columbia without my knowledge or consent by General Jones, an officer not authorized to interfere with them. Lieutenant-Colonel Means has been assigned to their command by the Secretary of War without giving me any notice of the fact, and this officer says he reports to General Hardee and not to me.

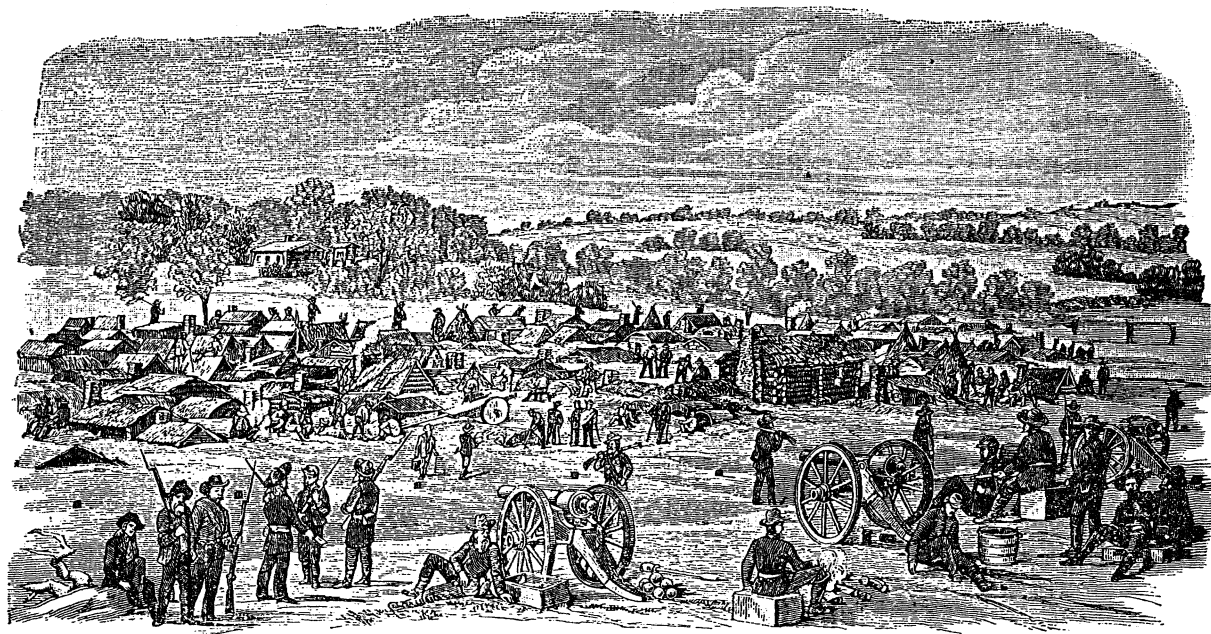
"I have made complaint about the removal of these prisoners to the War Department, but received no response. They are in my jurisdiction, but how can I be expected to be responsible for or give any information concerning them under such circumstances." On November 4, 1864, as a result of this series of interchanges General Gardner was placed in command and Lieutenant Colonel Means was ordered to report to him.⁷⁹ But before these orders could have reached Columbia another inspector made his contribution to the growing confusion. "The camp [Camp Sorghum] is a large one, in fact much too large for the number of prisoners confined (hence they have made themselves very comfortable), which requires a much larger guard than is necessary. Prisoners are constantly escaping during the dark nights. Five escaped the night before I arrived. I suggested that the lines be contracted, as a great deal more ground than necessary was inclosed, throwing the sentinels closer together; also that light wood fires be kept up along the lines during the dark nights. Both of these changes I deemed necessary, and would have ordered had Colonel Means been regularly assigned to command under General Gardner. In the first place, Colonel Means being put in command by General Hardee and reporting to him, I was not authorized to make any changes. In the second place, my orders would not have been recognized had I issued them."⁸⁰

Possibly because the same conflict of authority existed at the prison camp for enlisted men near Florence, South Carolina, the Confederate government tried to solve the administrative problem on November 21, 1864, by appointing Brigadier General John H. Winder Commissary General of Prisoners. All officers and men stationed at all Confederate Military Prisons east of the Mississippi River were placed under his command. All interference with the prisons or prisoners by other Army commanders in the vicinity of military prisons was prohibited.⁸¹

The constant pressure produced by General Sherman's campaign

did not give General Winder much time to make the necessary arrangements for the confinement and care of the Federal prisoners of war.⁸² In early December he was in Columbia trying to placate Governor Milledge P. Bonham and at the same time secure a site for a large prison stockade and temporary quarters for the officers at Camp Sorghum.⁸³ In response to protests from Governor Bonham and other residents of Columbia, President Jefferson Davis intervened to halt the enlargement of Camp Sorghum.⁸⁴ After a brief inspection trip, General Winder wrote to the military officials in Richmond, ". . . I visited the officers' prison at Columbia and found it entirely unfit for the purpose, nothing but an open field, guarded by raw troops (reserves); the consequence is that 373 have escaped. I received while in Columbia, through the Governor, several complaints of these escapes. I immediately took steps to remedy the evil, and through the kind assistance of the Governor obtained a part of the grounds of the male Lunatic Asylum for temporary use until I could erect a stockade."⁸⁵ With this move on the part of General Winder, Camp Sorghum came to an end. By mid-December the Federal officers had been moved to Camp Asylum to be confined until military developments and the renewal of prison exchange should combine to effect their release from imprisonment.⁸⁶

A tobacco warehouse at Richmond, a fair-ground at Macon, a jailyard at Charleston, and a lunatic asylum at Columbia, with all of these John Fraser had become familiar. But it was in an open field near Columbia that he wrote the several drafts of his prison petition.



Camp Sorghum, Columbia, South Carolina

The Petition

C.S.M. Prison, Columbia S.C.
Nov. 1864⁸⁷

Lt. General Hardee⁸⁸
General

We the undersigned acting in behalf of the federal officers confined in this⁸⁹ prison, hereby respectfully⁹⁰ submit to you our protest against the treatment which we have received at this place.

As⁹¹ union prisoners of war⁹² we have had heretofore almost⁹³ uniformly ^{good} ~~great~~⁹⁴ reasons to complain of rations short in quantity & very inferior in quality, of an extremely inadequate⁹⁵ supply of cooking⁹⁶ utensils,⁹⁷ & of very long⁹⁸ detention of letters, monies & boxes⁹⁹ from home, but never before we were placed in¹⁰⁰ this prison¹⁰¹ have we
▲ had reason to complain that the confederate authorities had aggravated these standing grievances¹⁰² ten fold by exposing¹⁰³ us as they have done here to the inclemency of the weather in a camp in which not a ^{structure} ~~shelter~~ of the humblest ^{kind} ▲ has been erected for our accommodation.¹⁰⁴

~~In justice~~ It is but just to admit that 20 tents & one tent flies¹⁰⁵ were issued about four weeks ago to officers who are charged with the transaction of business connected with the prisoners.¹⁰⁶

But with this exception we have been left for more than five weeks to shift for ourselves the best way we could. During the first fortnight of our imprisonment here, there were only eight very unserviceable axes among 1400 officers, six of which were private property. Subsequently twelve new axes were issued to us by the commandant of the prison.¹⁰⁷ With these twenty axes, & ^{with} 14 spades¹⁰⁸ which were also issued for our use, we have erected such shelters as were practicable under the inevitable embarrassments caused by the restrictions of prison discipline.¹⁰⁹ At present most of us have only very rudimentary shelters of pine branches, but few of us having as yet found it possible to erect substantial log huts ^[erasure] ~~which are~~ ^Λ covered with pine branches & clay.¹¹⁰ Our great want of adequate shelter makes us all feel the more keenly the other hardships of our prison life.¹¹¹ Many officers weak & sickly from long confinement & insufficiently supplied with clothing, blankets & shoes have suffered severely from cold & rain.¹¹² The want of shelter makes us especially feel the want of proper rations.¹¹³ No meat or lard has been issued to us for the past forty days.¹¹⁴ The daily allowance to each officer in this camp consists of one (1) pt. of unbolted corn meal, one half pint of molasses, one tenth pint of rice, one fourth of

a table spoonful of salt, with occasionally one fifth of a pint of very bad flour.¹¹⁵ This allowance our [erasure] experience has convinced does not ~~is very insu~~ furnish adequate food for men in our exposed condition who suffer so much as we do from In brief Λ exposure. Λ The pressure of our condition here justifies us in saying that annoyance frequently amounting to torment is inflicted upon us in almost every relation of our prison life.¹¹⁶ This statement will not be considered extravagant¹¹⁷ coming from officers who are required to 'find' their own shelter with very inadequate tools¹¹⁸ & under very embarrassing circumstances, who are ~~inadequately fed, who~~ obliged to cut very hurriedly timber for Λ fuel & shelters & to carry the material on their backs a distance of several hundred yards from the neighboring woods,¹¹⁹ who are inadequately fed,¹²⁰ who are so scantily supplied with cooking utensils that many of them cannot cook breakfast till late in the afternoon,¹²¹ who are tantalized by the provoking detention of letters monies & boxes from home (only one mail has been received in forty days) & who are moreover denied the benefit of the monies sent them by their friends.¹²²

Our government has already found it necessary to retaliate in behalf of union prisoners of war by reducing considerably the ~~allow~~

~~ance of~~ rations allowed to your compatriots in Northern prisons. We deprecate the necessity of inflicting additional retaliation by turning fourteen hundred southern officers out of their prison shelters & subjecting them to treatment as nearly as possible identical with that which we receive.¹²³

In justice to you we will state that we do not believe that you fully realize our condition in this camp. For your un undoubted bravery & great experience & ability as an officer assure us that the generosity of the tried soldier would long ere now have moved you to grant us the redress which we have a right to expect at the hands of the authorities of a civilized people.¹²⁴

the foregoing statement

In conclusion we can affirm with truth that we have not exaggerated any thing or set down aught in malice.¹²⁵ The gravity of our case has made us very careful that an action in the premises should not be impaired by exaggeration or abuse.¹²⁶

List of Names Appearing in the Notebook

The greater part of the names which follow appears on pages 5 through 12 of the Fraser notebook. A few additional names appear on other pages in connection with specific notes and memoranda. There are 161 names in the principal list. There is no apparent plan of organization in the arrangement of the names, although those of the higher ranking officers predominate in the earlier portions of the list. It is quite probable that the men whose names appear comprised a unit for receiving rations or for going into the nearby woods for fuel and material to construct shelters. It is still more likely that two units of about eighty men each are involved. This last suggestion is supported by the fact that on another page of the diary there appears a note on the size of four messes, ranging from 19 to 23 names, together with the names of the four officers who were presumably in charge of commissary arrangements. Because the officer-prisoners had their own internal organization in the prison camps to which they were confined, and because Fraser was one of the senior officers in confinement at Charleston, Camp Sorghum, and Camp Asylum, it is probable that he exercised some control over the men whose names appear. Bits of collateral information supplemented by the notes and memoranda which appear in the notebook indicate that Fraser played an active role in devising ways of making the maximum use of rations and supplies, in maintaining the morale of the men, and in exploring the possibilities of release, exchange, or better conditions in the prisons.

The problem of identifying the officers whose names appear in Fraser's notebook is an extremely difficult one. In most instances only last names and ranks are given, and in some cases names have obviously been misspelt. Clearly when it is known that there were several prisoner-captains named Day or several prisoner-lieutenants named Davis it is impossible to indicate with complete accuracy the one whose name appears in the notebook. In these instances all that can be assumed is that there was an officer with the name and rank given who was a prisoner of war during the summer and autumn of 1864. For purposes of convenient references the names have been arranged in alphabetical order by ranks. Footnotes have been used to present Fraser's notations and the bits of information that came to light in the process of identifying the men.¹²⁷

COLONELS

Samuel J. Crooks ¹²⁸	22nd New York Cavalry
John Fraser	140th Pennsylvania Infantry
Oscar H. La Grange ¹²⁹	1st Wisconsin Cavalry
George P. McLean ¹³⁰	183rd Pennsylvania Infantry
Francis C. Miller ¹³¹	147th New York Infantry

LIEUTENANT COLONELS

John B. Conyngham	52nd Pennsylvania Infantry
Allyne C. Litchfield ¹³²	7th Michigan Cavalry
Courtland C. Matson ¹³³	6th Indiana Cavalry
Orson Moulton	25th Massachusetts Infantry
Homer R. Stoughton	2nd United States Sharpshooters
Gustav von Helmrich ¹³⁴	4th Missouri Cavalry

MAJORS

William T. Beatty	2nd Ohio Infantry
Edwin F. Cooke	2nd New York Cavalry
Charles K. Fleming	1st Maine Artillery
William P. Hall ¹³⁵	6th New York Cavalry
Thomas J. Halsey ¹³⁶	11th New York Infantry
Charles M. Lynch	145th Pennsylvania Infantry
..... McClellan ¹³⁷	
Bedan B. McDonald	101st Ohio Infantry
Duncan McKercher	10th Wisconsin Infantry
William S. Marshall ¹³⁸	5th Iowa Infantry
Charles P. Mattocks	17th Maine Infantry
Peter Nelson	66th New York Infantry
William N. Owen	1st Kentucky Cavalry
William L. Parsons	2nd Wisconsin Infantry
Henry L. Pasco ¹³⁹	16th Connecticut Infantry
Lorenzo A. Phelps	5th West Virginia Infantry
John E. Pratt	4th Vermont Infantry
Francis Pruyn ¹⁴⁰	7th New York Artillery
W. J. Reynolds	75th Ohio Infantry
William H. Reynolds ¹⁴¹	14th New York Artillery
Oliver S. Sanford	7th Connecticut Infantry
Thomas A. Smith	7th Tennessee Cavalry
Legrand B. Speece	7th Pennsylvania Reserves
Joseph Steele	2nd Pennsylvania Cavalry
Charles J. Stolbrand ¹⁴²	2nd Illinois Light Artillery
David Vickers	4th New Jersey Infantry
George C. Wanger	24th New York Cavalry
John W. Young	66th New York Infantry

CAPTAINS

David L. Anderson ¹⁴³	50th Ohio Infantry
Michael Auer	15th New York Cavalry
..... Austin ¹⁴⁴	
Melvin R. Baldwin	2nd Wisconsin Infantry
David M. Barrett	89th Ohio Infantry
Elias B. Bascom ¹⁴⁵	5th Iowa Infantry
James Belger	1st Rhode Island Heavy Artillery
William H. Brady	2nd Delaware Infantry
..... Burton ¹⁴⁶	
John G. Bush	16th Illinois Cavalry
Benjamin F. Campbell	36th Illinois Cavalry
Franklin S. Case ¹⁴⁷	2nd Ohio Infantry
James T. Chalfant ¹⁴⁸	11th Pennsylvania Infantry
George O. Clinton ¹⁴⁹	1st Wisconsin Cavalry
William F. Conrad ¹⁵⁰	25th Iowa Infantry
Henry P. Cooke	Acting Adjutant General
Elam Day, Jr.	89th Ohio Infantry
James G. Derrickson	66th New York Infantry
Franklin W. Dillon	1st Kentucky Cavalry
Obadiah J. Downing	2nd New York Cavalry
J. M. Dushane	142nd Pennsylvania Infantry
..... Edmondson ¹⁵¹	
Samuel S. Elder	1st United States Artillery
Oliver C. Gatch	89th Ohio Infantry
..... Gay ¹⁵²	
Henry W. Gimber ¹⁵³	150th Pennsylvania Infantry
Samuel A. Glenn	89th Ohio Infantry
Asa L. Goodrich	8th New York Cavalry
William L. Gray	151st Pennsylvania Infantry
Jacob L. Greene ¹⁵⁴	7th Michigan Infantry
..... Guslin ¹⁵⁵	
Asa N. Hayes ¹⁵⁶	7th East Tennessee Cavalry
Albert Heffley ¹⁵⁷	142nd Pennsylvania Infantry
John Heil ¹⁵⁸	45th New York Infantry
Robert H. O. Herzog	1st New York Cavalry
Henry Hescok	1st Missouri Artillery
Joseph N. Hetzler	9th Ohio Cavalry
Henry Hintz	16th Connecticut Infantry
Samuel S. Holbrook	15th United States Infantry
..... Johnston ¹⁵⁹	
David Jones ¹⁶⁰	14th New York Heavy Artillery
Seldon C. Judson	106th New York Infantry
..... Kliser ¹⁶¹	

Julius B. Litchfield
 George R. Lodge
 Lafayette P. Lovett
 William D. Lucas
 John McKeage¹⁶²
 David B. McKibbin
 Cyrus W. Metcalf
 S. F. Murray
 Charles E. Nichols
 John E. Page
 ----- Pendergrast¹⁶³
 J. T. Piggott¹⁶⁴
 ----- Rawlins¹⁶⁵
 David Richardson, Jr.¹⁶⁶
 Seth B. Ryder¹⁶⁷
 W. H. H. Robins¹⁶⁸
 Timothy B. Robinson
 William A. Robinson
 John A. Scammerhorn
 George M. Van Buren¹⁶⁹
 James W. Vanderhoof
 Cornelius C. Widdiss¹⁷⁰
 ----- Wilcox¹⁷¹
 William H. Williams
 William Wilson, Jr.
 William C. Wilson
 Fred Zarracher¹⁷²

4th Maine Infantry
 53rd Illinois Infantry
 5th Kentucky Infantry
 5th New York Cavalry
 184th Pennsylvania Infantry
 14th United States Cavalry
 42nd Indiana Infantry
 2nd United States Sharpshooters
 6th Connecticut Infantry
 5th Iowa Infantry

 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry

 183rd Pennsylvania Infantry
 5th New York Cavalry
 2nd East Tennessee Infantry
 16th Connecticut Infantry
 77th Pennsylvania Infantry
 42nd Indiana Infantry
 6th New York Cavalry
 45th New York Infantry
 150th Pennsylvania Infantry

 4th New York Cavalry
 122nd Ohio Infantry
 104th New York Infantry
 18th Pennsylvania Cavalry

LIEUTENANTS

Amos B. Alger
 Eli P. Alexander
 Robert J. Allen
 John W. Austin
 John V. Baird
 Henry W. Baldwin
 George R. Barse¹⁷³
 William J. Bart
 Reuben Bartley
 Stiles H. Boughton
 John Bradford
 William H. Brady
 C. W. Brant¹⁷⁴
 Edward P. Brooks¹⁷⁵
 Samuel H. M. Byers¹⁷⁶
 Ezra D. Carpenter¹⁷⁷

22nd Ohio Light Artillery
 26th Michigan Infantry
 2nd East Tennessee Infantry
 5th Iowa Infantry
 89th Ohio Infantry
 2nd New Jersey Infantry
 5th Michigan Cavalry
 74th Pennsylvania Infantry
 123rd Pennsylvania Infantry
 71st Pennsylvania Infantry
 Staff, United States Volunteers
 2nd Delaware Infantry
 1st New York Cavalry
 6th Wisconsin Infantry
 5th Iowa Infantry
 18th Connecticut Infantry

William B. Cook ¹⁷⁸	140th Pennsylvania Infantry
Thomas A. Cord ¹⁷⁹	19th United States Infantry
John W. Davis	115th New York Infantry
Samuel V. Dean	145th Pennsylvania Infantry
W. H. Dorfee ¹⁸⁰	5th Rhode Island Infantry
John Dunn	164th New York Infantry
Thomas K. Eckings ¹⁸¹	3rd New Jersey Infantry
..... Edmondson ¹⁸²	
John H. Erickson ¹⁸³	57th New York Infantry
George W. Fish ¹⁸⁴	3rd Ohio Infantry
James Gilmore	79th New York Infantry
..... Greer ¹⁸⁵	
Samuel W. Hawkins	7th Tennessee Cavalry
Cyrus P. Heffley	142nd Pennsylvania Infantry
Eli Holden	1st Vermont Cavalry
Robert Huey	2nd East Tennessee Infantry
Charles C. Hunt	5th Battery, Maine Light Artillery
W. H. Irwin ¹⁸⁶	103rd Pennsylvania Infantry
Joseph Kerin	6th United States Cavalry
Thomas D. Lamson ¹⁸⁷	3rd Indiana Cavalry
William C. Lyons	23rd Ohio Infantry
James McDonald	2nd East Tennessee Infantry
Theodore F. Mann ¹⁸⁸	183rd Pennsylvania Infantry
..... Martin ¹⁸⁹	
Asa D. Mathews	1st Vermont Artillery
Charles A. Maxwell	3rd Ohio Infantry
Joseph R. Mell	82nd Ohio Infantry
Frank Milward ¹⁹⁰	34th Ohio Infantry
George L. Mitchell ¹⁹¹	28th Massachusetts Infantry
George H. Morrissey ¹⁹²	12th Iowa Infantry
Oscar H. Nealy	11th United States Infantry
Adolphus Nelson	66th New York Infantry
Edwin E. Norton	24th Michigan Infantry
James H. Palmer	12th Ohio Infantry
Judson S. Paul	122nd Ohio Infantry
Wilson N. Paxton ¹⁹³	140th Pennsylvania Infantry
D. B. Pettijohn	2nd United States Infantry
Worthington Pierce	17th Vermont Infantry
W. E. Roach ¹⁹⁴	49th New York Infantry
Nathaniel A. Robins	4th Maine Infantry
Jeptha L. Robeson	7th East Tennessee Cavalry
John H. Russell	12th Massachusetts Infantry
James B. Samson	12th Massachusetts Infantry
Thomas D. Scofield	27th Michigan Infantry
Edward S. Scott	89th Ohio Infantry

Dexter C. Sears¹⁹⁵
 George W. Simpson¹⁹⁶
 James G. Stevens
 Alfred S. Stewart¹⁹⁷
 Charles B. Stone
 Clarke P. Stone
 Lauriston L. Stone
 Magnus W. Stribling
 James H. Thompson
 Henry H. Tillotson
 David D. Vanvalgah
 Oliver W. West
 W. H. H. Wilcox¹⁹⁸

96th New York Infantry
 67th Pennsylvania Infantry
 52nd Pennsylvania Infantry
 4th Kentucky Mounted Infantry
 1st Vermont Cavalry
 1st Vermont Cavalry
 2nd Vermont Cavalry
 61st Ohio Infantry
 12th Ohio Infantry
 73rd Indiana Infantry
 12th United States Infantry
 1st New York Dragoons
 10th New York Infantry

NAVAL PERSONNEL

..... Pendleton
 H. K. Steever

Acting Master
 Acting Third Assistant Engineer,
 U.S.S. Otsego

RANK & SERVICE UNKNOWN

..... Armstrong¹³¹
 Pomfret¹⁹⁹

Notes

1. No comprehensive biography of John Fraser has been published. The best short treatment is S. A. Riggs, "Recollections of John Fraser," *The Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas*, Vol. IV (January, 1906), pp. 117-123. A brief but inaccurate account may be found in *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. IX (New York, 1892-1904), p. 743. A collection of Fraser items, including photographs, clippings, notebooks, obituary accounts, and some of Mrs. Fraser's own notes is in the Kansas Collection of the University of Kansas Library. Fraser's early years and his military career are treated most fully in Robert L. Stewart, *History of the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers* (Philadelphia, 1912)—hereafter cited as Stewart, *One Hundred and Fortieth*. For Fraser's service as an educator the best accounts are Wayland F. Dunaway, *History of the Pennsylvania State College* (State College, 1946), pp. 65-70, and Clyde K. Hyder, *Snow of Kansas* (Lawrence, 1953), pp. 130-136.
2. Samuel P. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, Vol. I (New York, 1950), p. 514.
3. Stewart, *One Hundred and Fortieth*, p. 366. The summary of Fraser's military career is based for the most part upon this book. Only the direct quotations of substantial length will be identified by specific page references.
4. Stewart, *One Hundred and Fortieth*, p. 369.
5. A formal commission, signed by Andrew G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania, and dated September 10, 1862, appointed Fraser the captain of Company G of the One Hundred and Fortieth Regiment, Infantry, Pennsylvania Volunteers, effective August 22, 1862. On September 9, 1862, Governor Curtin had commissioned Fraser a Lieutenant Colonel of the same regiment, effective September 8. Thus it would appear that Fraser was actually a Lieutenant Colonel before he was officially commissioned as a Captain.
6. Fraser's reports of the battle of Gettysburg can be found in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. XXVII, pt. 1, pp. 394-395—hereafter cited as *Official Records*. Fraser's commission as Colonel of the One Hundred and Fortieth Pennsylvania is dated July 4, 1863, and was made effective as of that date. In transmitting it Samuel B. Thomas, on July 20, 1863, wrote the following letter on the stationery of the Executive Military Department of the State of Pennsylvania,
"Col. John Fraser,
Com'd, 140th Penna Regt.
Via Washington, D.C.

Colonel: I have the honor to transmit to you herewith your commission as Colonel issued in conformity with appointment made by his Excy. Gov. Curtin to fill vacancy occasioned by the death of late Col. Roberts. Whilst unfeignedly mourning the loss of your late chief, your friends here, would yet express their sense of gratefulness that his office has passed to so worthy a successor:—amongst them Col. Quay and W. W. Hays, Esquire, have desired me to tender their remembrances of sincere friendship.”

7. Quoted in Stewart, *One Hundred and Fortieth*, p. 114.
8. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXVII, pt. 1, pp. 379-381.
9. Stewart, *One Hundred and Fortieth*, p. 116.
10. Using the inside front cover and the first page of his notebook, Fraser made the following tabular summary of the losses suffered by his regiment during the period May 5th to May 14th, 1864.

Casualties in 140th		P.V.			
		Killed	Wounded	Missing	
May 5th		2	10	0	Thursday 5 1/2 p.m.
May 8th		2	26	1	Sunday 4 1/2 p.m.
May 10th		1	8	2	Tuesday
May 11th	Reconnoissance				Wednesday
May 12		30	95	16	Thursday charge
May 13					
May 14					

11. Actually it was Major General William Mahone who, from his knowledge of his home state of Virginia, had perceived the opportunity to surprise the Federal troops. Mahone led the attacking force, which explains the frequent reference to him in the narrative of the prisoners who shared Fraser's fate. For additional details and references see William W. Hassler, *A. P. Hill: Lee's Forgotten General* (Richmond, 1957), pp. 216-217.
12. Some forty Federal officer prisoners made statements describing their capture and treatment to the special committee of the House of Representatives which was constituted on July 10, 1867, to investigate "the treatment of prisoners of war and Union citizens held by the Confederate authorities during the recent rebellion. . . ." A volume over twelve hundred pages in length containing the findings of the committee and the statements of witnesses was published as *Report on the Treatment of Prisoners of War by the Rebel Authorities During the War of the Rebellion* (House of Representatives Report No. 45, Fortieth Congress, third session, Serial no. 1391 [Washington, 1869])—hereafter cited as *Treatment of Prisoners*.

Of the officers making statements who travelled the same route as Fraser, perhaps half a dozen were taken prisoner at the same

time and under the same circumstances. The greater part of the remaining statements were made by officers who had been captured earlier, but were being moved from Libby Prison to the interior.

The accounts given to the committee by Captain H. A. Coats, Eighty-Fifth New York Volunteers, pp. 1003-1009; Lieutenant Harvey G. Dodge, Second Pennsylvania Cavalry, pp. 949-959; Major Moncena Dunn, Nineteenth Massachusetts Infantry, pp. 850-852; and Captain Lysander J. Hume, Sixth Massachusetts Infantry, pp. 881-884, were particularly helpful in reconstructing the itinerary of the prisoners and the conditions of their confinement. The Dodge account is in the form of a diary covering the period June 28, 1864, to March 1, 1865. Fraser's name does not appear in any of the accounts, but, as will be noted later, the names of several of the officers who made statements appear in Fraser's notebook. Thus there is some support for the surmise that Fraser's journey was comparable to those described by the witnesses before the committee.

Although it is quite evident that the testimony of the witnesses is largely *ex parte* in nature and obviously intended to place the Confederate prison authorities in the worst possible light, it should be noted that the basic allegations as to transportation, rations, shelter, clothing, tools, and detention of mail are supported by the statements of Confederate officials.

13. Following his release from imprisonment, John Fraser was breveted Brigadier General of Volunteers on March 13, 1865, for gallant services in action, returned to active duty on April 15 as commanding officer of his brigade, marched with his men from Richmond to Washington, participated in the Grand Review of the Army of the Potomac on May 23, and eight days later was mustered out of the service. The homecoming reception was held in the chapel of Jefferson College at Canonsburg on June 5, 1865. Sometime during the following month Fraser was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy and Lecturer in Tactics at the Agricultural College of Pennsylvania. He was elected to the presidency of that institution on September 4, 1866, assumed his duties on November 1, 1866, and served until he handed in his resignation on May 4, 1868. Before leaving the school that was to become Pennsylvania State University, Fraser had been chosen the second Chancellor of The University of Kansas, and on June 12, 1868, he arrived in Lawrence. Five days later with the delivery of his inaugural address he began six years of service to The University of Kansas. A two year term of State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Kansas and a professorship at the Western University of Pennsylvania in Pittsburg preceded his death on June 4, 1878.
14. A fuller treatment of the subject, but with the emphasis on enlisted

- men, appears in William B. Hesseltine, *Civil War Prisons: A Study in War Psychology* ("Ohio State University Contributions in History and Political Science," No. 12) [Columbus, 1930]. The material relevant to this study may be found in chapter VIII, "Other Southern Prisons, 1864-1865," pp. 159-171.
15. See note 12. For the sake of brevity the citations have been limited to what appear to be characteristic statements.
 16. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 832, 851, 882, 901, 949, 1004, 1068, 1082, and 1134.
 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 851, 882, 901, 949, and 1068.
 18. *Ibid.*, pp. 882 and 901.
 19. *Ibid.*, pp. 851, 901, 952, 1090, and 1134.
 20. *Ibid.*, pp. 883, 902, 953, 1068, 1075, 1085, and 1134.
 21. *Ibid.*, pp. 882, 883, and 1135.
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 851, 901, 902, 950, 952, 959, 960, 1005, 1068, 1074, 1080, 1082, 1085, 1087, 1090, 1102, 1108, 1121, 1136, and 1156. The assertions of the prisoners with respect to the inadequate rations generally, and the lack of meat specifically, are confirmed in the correspondence of the Confederate officials. Prison officials, Lieutenant Colonel John F. Iverson and Brigadier General John H. Winder among others, called attention to the insufficient rations furnished to the prisoners of war. L. B. Northrop, Commissary General of Subsistence for the Confederate States government, bore the burden of explaining the dilemma in which the authorities in Richmond found themselves. Alleging inadequate supplies and funds to supply the troops of the Confederacy, Northrop had issued on October 3, 1864, an order prohibiting the issue of meat to prisoners of war. He reiterated his position on December 16, 1864, on February 4, 1865, and on February 11, 1865. His comments were always terse and direct and regularly included the suggestion that the ration of cornmeal and sorghum would have to be reduced rather than increased. For the relevant printed sources see *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 499-500, 1046, 1088-1089, 1130-1131, and 1137-1138; and Vol. VIII, pp. 137-139, 160-161. Additional material as well as the correspondence referred to above may be found in *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 711-712 and 724-731.
 23. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 954, 961; Willard W. Glazier, *The Capture, the Prison Pen, and the Escape* (Hartford, 1867), pp. 195-196—hereafter cited as Glazier, *The Capture*.
 24. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 902, 935, 953, 1008, and 1136.
 25. *Ibid.*, pp. 883, 902, 1004, 1008, 1069, and 1150.
 26. *Ibid.*, pp. 883, 902, 1004, 1006, 1074, and 1087.
 27. *Ibid.*, pp. 852, 954, 1007, 1008, 1068, 1069, 1081, 1082, 1086, 1110, 1121, 1136, 1153, and 1156. The most extreme statement of this

view was made by Major Jacob L. Greene, Assistant Adjutant General, United States Volunteers. He said, "Impressions are not evidence, but I desire to state what I do as fully believe is justified by the evidence as any demonstrated fact, that the rebel authorities did, with full intent to destroy lives and health of the prisoners, deliberately starve them. . . ." (p. 1069). Captain M. L. Clark, One Hundred and First Pennsylvania Veteran Volunteers, made a similar statement (p. 1156).

28. The following menus with prices appear on pages 4 and 5 of the Fraser notebook.

1. Brkft	Corn pudding viz		
	Milk \$1.50 Eggs \$1.50	=	\$3.00
	Molasses \$1.50	=	1.50
			<u>\$4.50</u>
2. Brkft	Mush & Milk viz		
	Milk \$2.25		\$2.25
3. Brkft	Rice & Milk viz		
	Milk \$2.25		\$2.25
4. Brkft.	Mush and Molasses		
	or Rice & Molasses viz		
	Molasses \$1.50	=	\$1.50
1. Dinner	Okra broth viz		
	Okra /37½ Rice 0	=	37½
	Onions /50	=	50
	3 Loaves		1.80
	Sweet Potatoes		1.00
			<u>\$3.67½</u>
2. Dinner	{ Irish Potatoes	=	.67
	Broth {		
	{ Onions /50 Rice 0	=	.50
	Pone 0		
	Eggs /80 Milk 75		
	Rice pudding	=	2.30
	Molasses /75		
			<u>3.47</u>
3. Dinner	Pork fried		
	Sweet Potatoes	=	1.00
	1 Loaf	=	1.25
	Rice pudding	=	2.50
			<u>4.75</u>
			Eggs = 1.00
			Milk = .75
			Mol. = .75
			<u>meal</u>
4. Dinner with	Corn Pudding	=	6.50
5. Dinner with	Broth Beef & 3 Loaves		3.00

All prices are given in Confederate currency.

29. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 852, 935, 950, 954, 1005, 1006, 1090, 1102, and 1103.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 935, 954, 1005, and 1153.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 852.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 887, 901, 1073-1074, 1075, 1080, 1081, 1086, 1090, 1099, 1111, 1132, 1133, 1135, and 1146.
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 882, 949, 954, 1003, and 1086. See also *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 198-199, 416, 432, 460-461, and 1239. On page 1239 there can be found the orders governing the activities of the sutler and the payments of funds to the prisoners at Camp Asylum issued by Major Griswold, Commander of the Prison, on December 17, 1864. The prisoners were limited to drawing \$2.50 per week in gold or exchange and to \$100 per week in Confederate currency. Orders had to be drawn on the Assistant Quartermaster General. In addition the prisoners could give orders to the sutler for supplies purchased from him with payment to be made by the Quartermaster directly to the sutler. Under no circumstances was the sutler allowed to give or pay money to the prisoners.
34. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 948, 1074, and 1087.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 935, 952, 960, 1008-1009, 1075, 1134, and 1153.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 952.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 953-954 and 1004. This was official Confederate policy. For some of the correspondence on the subject during the latter part of 1864 and the early part of 1865 see *Official Records*, Series II, Vol. VII, pp. 1157-1158.
38. The official orders on this matter can be found in *Ibid.*, pp. 416 and 1251. Supplementary data are contained on pp. 451 and 762-763. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 1009 and 1001.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 1006.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 935, 952, 954, and 1006.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 1007. The following letter from T. J. Goodwyn, Mayor, Rufus M. Johnston, and E. J. Arthur, dated Columbia, South Carolina, October 23, 1864, and addressed to Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy, presents an interestingly divergent evaluation of the treatment accorded to the prisoners in Camp Sorghum. "Your Excellency: The undersigned citizens of Columbia respectfully represent that there are now in our suburbs several thousand Yankee prisoners, besides those confined in the jail of the city. That the said prisoners enjoy privileges through their sutler of purchasing eggs, butter, sweet potatoes, and other luxuries apart from the rations furnished to them by the Government, which privilege, industriously employed by their agents on the railroads and elsewhere, has deprived our citizens of the opportunity of making purchases of the aforesaid articles, except at the most unusual and exorbitant rates; that our own soldiers at this

post enjoy no such privileges and justly complain of the discrimination that has been made in favor of their enemy. We further respectfully represent that the Confederate officers recently released from the Northern prisons all unite in the declaration that the Federal Government have debarred our own prisoners in their hands from the enjoyment of any facilities for purchasing articles of necessity and deprived them of ordinary comforts.

"Under the circumstances we take the liberty of suggesting to Your Excellency the propriety of issuing through the proper channel, directly or indirectly, such an order to the commandant of the prisons at this post as shall protect our own citizens in the purchase of such articles as are now largely purchased by these confined Federals, and at the same time prevent the bestowal of more favor upon them than is granted to Confederate prisoners at the North." *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 1030-1031.

42. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 860, 956, 960, 1005, 1007, and 1091.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 852, 1006, 1009, 1075, 1082, 1134, and 1137. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 874-875.
44. *Treatment of Prisoners*, p. 1007.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 851, 883, 902, 1005, 1074, 1080, 1090, 1099, 1101, 1108, 1136, and 1151.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 883, 902, 935, 953, and 960. For a reasonably detailed description of the shelters and shanties at Camp Sorghum see Asa B. Isham, Henry M. Davidson, and Henry B. Furmiss, *Prisoners of War and Military Prisons* (Cincinnati, 1890), pp. 76-78—hereafter cited as Isham, *Prisoners of War*.
47. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 954, 1007, 1069, 1075, 1077, 1086, 1087, and 1134.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 851, 902, 1006, and 1069.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 1006; Isham, *Prisoners of War*, p. 76.
50. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 883, 1006, 1084-1085, and 1151.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 883 and 952.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 851 and 1004. Fraser and his messmates apparently had a tin bucket inasmuch as the mess account shows that Lieutenant Paxton paid \$2.00 to have it repaired on September 15.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 950. Isham, *Prisoners of War*, p. 43.
54. *Treatment of Prisoners*, p. 883.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 954, 1069, 1074, 1082, 1090, 1103, 1108, and 1135.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 851, 883, 953, 954, 1006, 1075 and 1134.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 960, 1069, 1077, 1082, 1085, 1090, and 1134.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 935, 1074, 1075, and 1121.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 953, and 1134. Isham, *Prisoners of War*, p. 76.
60. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, p. 1229.
61. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXV, Pt. 1, p. 636.
62. *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXV, Pt. 2, p. 640. Lieutenant General Wil-

- liam J. Hardee assumed command of the Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida on October 5, 1864. On the same day Major General Sam Jones was made the commanding officer of the District of South Carolina.
63. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 419, 422-423, 501-502, 783, 973-979, and 1081.
 64. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 883, 935, 953, 1006, 1080-1082, and 1099.
 65. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 482, 490-491, 587, 612, 886, 890, 963-964, 978, 986-987, 1046-1047, 1086-1087, 1100, 1239, and 1262.
 66. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VIII, pp. 336 and 457.
 67. The exchange of prisoners is discussed in Hesselstine, *Civil War Prisons*, especially pp. 7-34, 69-114, and 210-233. The printed source material is so voluminous that specific citations would be impracticable. Extensive portions of Series II of the *Official Records*, especially Volumes VI, VII, and VIII, are devoted to the relevant documents. A great deal of material is to be found in Series I as well. The cartel agreement of July 22, 1862, is printed in *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 625-626. General Grant's order terminating the exchange of prisoners is dated April 17, 1864, and may be found in *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 62-63. General exchanging was not resumed until early February, 1865, but in the meantime, special exchanging was allowed.
 68. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 611-612.
 69. *Ibid.*, pp. 490-491.
 70. *Ibid.*, pp. 463, 467, 502, 625, 768, 773, 789, 817, 846, and 866. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 557, 582-586, 589, and 590.
 71. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 371, 598, 607, 683, 711-712, 763, 783, 819, 826-827, 869, 981-982, 1006-1007, 1016, and 1073. Apparently Fraser's interest in the trajectory of the shells was shared by the Confederate officers who were prisoners on Morris Island. In a letter dated September 13, 1864, Major General John G. Foster said, "Many of the officers express themselves well satisfied with the novelty of the change, and have little fear of their own shells, which they watch with interest." *Ibid.*, p. 819.
 72. *Ibid.*, pp. 773, 782, 789, 825, 866, 900, and 909.
 73. *Ibid.*, p. 817.
 74. *Ibid.*, p. 458.
 75. *Ibid.*, pp. 773, 782, 795, and 821.
 76. *Ibid.*, p. 894.
 77. *Ibid.*, p. 986.
 78. *Ibid.*, p. 1046.
 79. *Ibid.*, p. 1047.
 80. *Ibid.*, p. 1090.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 1150 and 1193. For the reports which probably precipitated the change see pp. 1086-1087, 1091, and 1100. Before General Gardner was relieved of his duties he was ordered to Columbia to select a site for a large prison stockade, p. 1145. While in Columbia on December 4, 1864, he took note of the shift in responsibility saying among other things, "I am heartily glad to get rid of the business," p. 1188. Winder's orders were issued on November 21, 1864, and published by him on December 5, 1864.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 1140, 1144-45, 1148, 1155, 1158, 1238-1239, 1258, 1262, 1270, 1271, and 1303.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 1184.
84. In early October, 1864, Governor Bonham had objected to the establishment of a military prison at Columbia. For some of the relevant correspondence see *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 930, 975, 1062-1063, 1076-1077, and 1151; Vol. VIII, pp. 96, 111; *et passim*.
85. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 1196-1197. Some documents describing the negotiations for the use of the Lunatic Asylum can be found on pp. 1179-1180 and 1184.
86. The movement of the prisoners first to Charlotte, North Carolina, and then to points farther north is described from the point of view of the prisoners in their testimony in *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 850 *et passim*. Their description of hardships and suffering are confirmed by the reports of the Confederate officials which may be found in *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VIII, pp. 210 *et passim*. The items that are particularly relevant to the prisoners at Columbia and to their removal northward can be found on pp. 443-444, and 451-457.
87. It is impossible to establish the exact date of the writing of the several drafts of the petition. Internal evidence suggests that Drafts 2 and 3 were written after November 11.
88. Lieutenant-General William Joseph Hardee was born in Camden County, Georgia, on October 12, 1815, and was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1838. Following distinguished service in the Mexican War he was selected by the Secretary of War to prepare a manual of infantry tactics. This study was published in 1855 as *Rifle and Light Infantry Tactics*. The following year he was made Commandant of the United States Military Academy with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. In January, 1861, he resigned his commission in the United States Army to enter the service of the Confederacy. After active service in many battles and campaigns he was appointed on October 5, 1864, the Commanding General of the Department of South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia. It was because he held this position that Fraser addressed the petition to him. The most readily available

account of Hardee's life is in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VIII, pp. 239-240.

89. In draft 3 the word "military" precedes prison.
90. Drafts 1 and 2 read "respectfully invited your attention to the following statement." The stronger phrase "hereby protest against the treatment" was tried only in Draft 2. Draft 3 reads "respectfully submit our protest against the treatment which was have received at this place."
91. In Draft 1 the second paragraph begins. "We have been imprisoned in this place days from October 7th to Nov. . ."
92. Draft 2 reads, "Our experience in other military prisons in the South has given us good reason. . ."
93. Does not appear in any previous draft.
94. "great" in Draft 3: "unfailing" appears in Draft 3.
95. "insufficient" in Draft 2: "very scanty" appears in Draft 3.
96. "culinary" in Draft 2.
97. In Draft 2 the following phrase appears at this point: "and of axes to cut the fuel supplied to us."
98. The stronger version "very long" appears for the first time in Draft 4.
99. Inserted for first time in Draft 3.
100. "came to" in Draft 3.
101. "came to this prison" in Draft 3.
102. "the above named standing grievances" in draft 3.
103. "leaving" appears in Draft 3 in place of "exposing."
104. The entire second paragraph of Draft 1 reads, "We have been imprisoned in this place days from Oct. 7th to Nov. No buildings even of the humblest kind having been erected for left our accomodation, we have been **^** during the whole of that time [erasure] to shift for ourselves. Believing that the confederate leave long authorities had too much humanity to ~~turn~~ us **^** out shelterless in at this changeable period of the year ~~from~~ the cold & the wet, **^** , we at first contented our selves with erecting the most rudimentary shelters of pine brush, which afforded no protection from the cold & the wet to poorly clothed & blanketless officers. But [after] a drenching rain &c we found it necessary to erect more substantial structures. From the want of adequate shelter, many of the officers being very poorly clothed & insufficiently supplied with blankets, have **^** suffered very severely from the cold & the wet." In drafts 2 and 3 the phrase "to protect us from the inclemency of the weather" closes the paragraph.

105. The clearly distinguishable difference in pencil used in writing the number "20" and the word "one," and the use of the singular "one" with the plural "flies" suggests that Fraser had left blank spaces for the later insertion of the exact number of tents and tent flies that had been issued.
106. This sentence does not appear in any of the other drafts, but somewhat out of context the following statement appears in Draft 3. "The only evidence of a disposition to treat us humanly is found in the issue of 12 axes and twenty dilapidated tents."
107. The comparable sentences in Draft 1 are "To build these shelters for 1,400 prisoners there were only 8 axes very unserviceable six of which had been purchased by themselves. Subsequently the prison authorities furnished twelve additional axes."
108. "spades" appears only in Draft 4. As in the case of the tents and tent flies mentioned in note 105, Fraser apparently inserted the exact numbers after writing the rest of the sentence.
109. In draft 1 in a different context the following sentence appears, "In consequence of the restrictions of prison discipline there are still a great many officers unprovided with shelter."
110. In Drafts 2 and 3 the following additional sentences appear, "we have now been more than five weeks in this camp, most of us having only very rudimentary shelters of pine branches ['brush' in Draft 2], only a ['very' in Draft 2] few of us having as yet found it practicable to erect log huts covered with pine branches ['brush' in Draft 2] and hay."
111. The author experimented in Drafts 2 and 3 with the wording of this sentence. In the latter it is worded as follows, "Our want of ['adequate' appears in Draft 2] shelter ['shelters' in Draft 2] makes us all feel more keenly the usual [does not appear in Draft 2] inadequacy of the ration's issued to us."
112. The word "shoes" appears for the first time in Draft 3.
113. See Note 18 above. This sentence seems to have been inserted in Draft 4 to give additional emphasis to the matter of proper shelter and to provide a transition to the discussion of rations.
114. "for the past month" in Draft 1. The sentence is heavily corrected in Draft 2, but it appears to read, "The usual issue of bacon or lard has been for some reason withheld denied us altogether." In Draft 3 the simple statement "No meat or lard has been issued to us." is a later insertion between two paragraphs.
115. The formulation of the statement with respect to the daily ration of food seems to have given Fraser a great deal of difficulty both as to wording and position in the petition. In Draft I it is stated, "Our rations consist of a pt corn meal unbolted, sorghum molasses, with enough of salt to serve barely for one day. Occasionally a small issue of flour & soap." In Draft 2, two attempts, both in-

complete, are made to state the case. The first effort declares that $\frac{1}{2}$ pt of molasses and 1 pt. of unbolted corn meal per diem was not sufficient for men living in exposed conditions, "Only three very small issues of very poor flour has been issued to us here. . . ." Whereas the second version which appears, after the end of the petition contains additional information. "A daily allowance [of] 1 pt of unbolted corn meal, $\frac{1}{2}$ pt. of molasses, one tenth of a pt. of rice, one fourth of a spoonful of salt, with *occasionally* one fifth of a pt. of very poor flour per diem is not sufficient food for a man in our exposed condition." The omission of "per diem" and the substitution of "adequate" for sufficient are the only changes in the version which appears in Draft 3.

116. This sentence is a much milder statement than the comparable ones in Draft 1, 2, and 3. The struggle to state the case "without exaggeration and abuse" is vividly illustrated. Near the end of Draft 1 Fraser had written, "our experience of other military prisons in the South has made indelible impressions on our memory but it has been reserved for the C.S.M. Prison at Columbia to excel them all in the thoroughness with which it inflicts torment upon us in almost every phase of our prison life." In Draft 2 the sentence is in a more logical context, but it shows signs of having been revised many times. "Other military prisons in the South have made their peculiar impression on our memory, but it has been reserved for the C.S.M. Prison at Columbia to excel them all in the thoroughness with which it inflicts upon us annoyance amounting in some cases to torment in almost every relation of our prison life." In Draft 3 the wording is smoother and more direct. "Our experience of other military prisons in the South justifies us in saying that the C.S.M. Prison at Columbia, S.C. excels them all in the thoroughness with which annoyance frequently amounting to torment is inflicted upon us in almost every relation of our prison life."
117. A comparable statement does not appear in Draft 1. "Such language will not be considered extravagant" is used in Draft 2.
118. Drafts 1 and 2 do not contain comparable language, but in Draft 3, the following formulation appears "to 'find' their own shelters almost without tools (for a fortnight there were only 8 unserviceable axes among 1400 officers and six of these were purchased by themselves)."
119. Apparently Fraser found it very difficult to hit upon exactly the language that he wanted to use in describing this grievance. Two widely separated attempts were made in Draft 1. After commenting on the small number of axes he said, ". . . we have had to cut timber for fuel & shelter in the neighboring woods & carry it into camp, no transportation being furnished us." Later in the same draft he declared ". . . but this is the only prison in which we have

been obliged to build shelters for ourselves, to cut in the neighboring woods timber which we have had to carry on our shoulders from $\frac{1}{4}$ th to $\frac{1}{3}$ d of a mile." Draft 2 contains the simple assertion "... who cut and carry on their shoulders for a distance of several hundred yards timber for their fuel and shelter." The language in Draft 3 is quite similar. The reference to five weeks is omitted and the statement begins "who are obliged to cut timber for fuel and shelters. . . ."

120. Draft 1 contains a reference "to the meagre rations. . . ." "inadequately supplied with rations" is used in Draft 2. Draft 3 does not contain a similar phrase.
121. The attempt to state the issue with respect to cooking utensils illustrates Fraser's effort to attain brevity and sharp emphasis. In Draft 1, there is an introductory sentence and considerable detail. "We have never in any prison in which we have been confined been adequately supplied with cooking utensils. But our present supply, a large portion of which has been purchased by ourselves, is extremely inadequate. The same vessel has in a great many cases to serve as water bucket, cooking vessel & eating dish, & washing vessel, not for one mess only, but several messes in succession. From want of cooking utensils many cannot cook their breakfast till late in the afternoon." The statement in Draft 2 is much shorter: "... whose supply of culinary utensils is so scanty that most have to cook their meals very hurriedly in order to give others a chance, while many cannot cook their breakfast till late in the afternoon. . . ." The form of the final statement was achieved in Draft 3.
122. The effort to achieve brevity and sharp focus is also illustrated by the evolution of this phrasing. In Drafts 1 and 2 there is evidence of several rewritings and there is some repetition. Including the introductory sentence Draft 1 reads, "We are allowed the privilege of purchasing from the prison sutler, but the monies which have been sent to a few of us by friends, & which we know has been in the hands of the authorities for some time has not as yet been distributed to us. Moreover we learn from the prison officials that such monies as are sent to an officer will be issued to him only in weekly allowances of twenty five dollars. The hardships of our captivity are aggravated by the extraordinary neglect and indifference with which our letters from home are allowed to lie unnoticed for months. Many letters never reach us." In the summary section reference is made again to "the suppression & detention of home letters which we have experienced elsewhere." The relevant section in Draft 2 never received a final form. However, several fragments appear: "... who are tantalised [by the] provoking detention of their letters," "[who are denied] the unspeakable com-

fort of letters from home," "[who are denied] receiving monies," "and who are not allowed the little comfort of receiving the monies which their friends send to them." In Draft 3 the language of the final version is nearly approximated. It reads ". . . who are more-over tantalised by the provoking detention of their letters from home, we have recd. only one mail in this camp, & are denied the benefit of the monies sent by their friends."

123. Because Draft 1 is obviously incomplete no comparable paragraph is contained in it. But to make up for this deficiency there are two versions of the paragraph in Draft 2: the first one incomplete, the second, which appears at the end of the main draft, almost identical with the versions contained in Drafts 3 and 4. The first attempt in Draft 2 reads, "Our govt. has already found it necessary to protect its citizens taken prisoners of war by reducing the rations given to your compatriots in Northern prisons. We deprecate the additional necessity of securing shelter &c for us by turning &c." The second version in Draft 2 appears as the final paragraph. In this instance the first sentence differs from its form in the final draft only in the insertion of "its ill fed" before Union. The second sentence reads, "We deprecate the additional necessity of additional retaliation by turning out of their prison shelters fourteen hundred southern officers & of subjecting them to treatment as nearly as possible identical with what we receive." In Draft 3 "inflicting" does not appear and "prison covers" is used instead of "prison shelters."
124. Fraser undoubtedly had a difficult time framing the concluding paragraphs of the petition. Only Draft 2 seems to have been finished and even in it rewritten versions of earlier paragraphs came after the final plea which reads "our hardships in other prisons have been & we think justly in the main ascribed to the cowardice [and] military inexperience of those in whose command we were placed." "We sincerely hope that an officer of your undoubted bravery and great experience will be too chivalrous to allow us to be subjected any longer to the grievances of which we have complained." Apparently this statement did not please Fraser because he returned to the task of revising it following similar efforts on earlier paragraphs. The revision reads as follows, "Being in the department commanded by [you] We sincerely hope an officer of your great experience & undoubted bravery will be too generous to deny us any longer the shelter, the adequate supply of food, fuel, and cooking utensils, and the prompt distribution of letters from home, which we have even as prisoners of war the right to expect at hands of a government which boasts of its chivalrous refinement & of its high toned civilization."
125. Although the writer almost reached a final form of this paragraph

- in Draft 3 the frequent changes provide a final illustration of his method. "In the foregoing statement we can truly affirm that we have not exaggerated anything or set down aught in malice. The gravity of our case has made us very careful that our action in the premises should not be impaired by exaggeration or abuse."
126. It seems clear that Fraser did not regard Draft 4 as the final version of his petition. On different pages of the notebook the following reminders appear "Mem. scorbutic and other diseases" "Mem. prison discipline by Confed., Police by Confed., Suffering of Prisoners in camp & Hospital, Opinions of prisoners regarding their treatment by their own Gov't. Scenes in Camp; Sherman movts."
 127. The following sources were used in identifying the men: *Official Army Register of the Volunteer Force of the United States Army for the Years 1861, '62, '63, '64, '65*, 8 volumes (Washington, 1865); Alonzo Cooper, *In and Out of Rebel Prisons* (Oswego, New York, 1888), p. 295 ff.; Glazier, *The Capture*, pp. 355-400; Francis R. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 2 volumes, (Washington, 1903); and Isham, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 489-554.
 128. On August 14, 1864, James A. Seddon, Confederate Secretary of War, ordered the commandant of the prison at Macon to place Colonel Crooks "in irons and held in close confinement in retaliation for similar treatment" accorded to Colonel Angus McDonald. The order could not be executed immediately because Colonel Crooks was ill and in the prison hospital. Subsequently he escaped from the hospital, was recaptured, and was placed in irons. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 593 and 669-670. Although Fraser raised the broad question of retaliation in his petition the subject has been omitted from this study. Like the problem of prisoner-exchange the topic of retaliation is much too complex to be included in a brief treatment.
 129. Colonel La Grange was a member of the first group of officers to be placed under the fire of their own guns at Charleston. Clipping from Charleston *Tri-Weekly Mercury*, June 14, 1864, transmitted by Major General John G. Foster to Major General George W. Halleck, June 22, 1864. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol XXXV, pt. 2, pp. 549-550.
 130. On the inside of what seems to have been originally intended as the front cover of the notebook the only memorandum written in ink appears. It reads, "Lieut. Mann, Capt. Richardson at 10 tomorrow. Col. McLane at 2 p.m." The use of ink, the fact that none of these names appear on the several lists of prisoners, and the further fact that all three men were officers of the 183rd Pennsylvania Infantry, a companion unit of the 140th Pennsylvania in the First Brigade of the First Division of the Second Army Corps,

suggests the possibility that the memorandum was made prior to Fraser's capture. Fraser's name, rank, and the name of his unit appear in ink on the page opposite this memorandum.

131. A note on pages 47 and 48 of the Notebook reads "Armstrong A C° 147 See Col Miller." Colonel Miller commanded the One Hundred and Forty-Seventh New York and was a prisoner at Columbia, but there is no Armstrong listed as an officer of the regiment. Captain W. F. Armstrong, Seventy-Fourth Ohio and Lieutenant T. S. Armstrong, One Hundred and Twenty-Second Ohio were among the prisoners at Columbia. *Official Army Register*, Vol. II, p. 647; Isham, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 494 and 513.
132. Fraser's reference to Colonel Litchfield is made on pages 47 and 48 of his notebook. For the sake of clarity these pages are reproduced *verbatim*.

"To see Major Mulford & T. Stephens, Judge Kelley, and Charles O'Neil of Congress

Fred Zarracher	Capt "C" C° 18th Pa. Cav.	for	Capt. May 5th /64 Wilderness	
S.W. Hawkins	Lt. "D" C° 7th Tenn. Cav.	"	March 24th /64 Union City Te	see Em. Etheridge
J.L. Robeson	Lt "T" C° " " " "	"	" " " "	" "
A.N. Hays	Capt "C" C° " " " "	"	" " " "	" "
John McKeage	Capt "E" C° 184th Pa. Vols		to Mrs. Anne C. McKeage	
			Hollidaysburgh, Pa.	
A.C. Litchfield	Lt.Col. 7th Mich Cav			
	treated like a felon at Richd			
	Mem. letter to Gen. Foster			
	& promise of Gen Butler			
Thomas A. Cord	Lt. "A" C° 19th USA	See Henry S. Lane	U.S. Senator	
			for Indiana	
George W. Fish	Lt. "F" C° 3. ^d O.V.	write to Judge Scott	Hamilton Ohio	
	about manner of effecting exchange			
Capt. J.L. Greene				
	Monroe			
	Mich.			
William G. Lee	23. ^d See Major Williams			
David L. Anderson	See Pettijohn			
	Armstrong A C° 147 See Col Miller"			

Major John E. Mulford was the United States Assistant Agent for Exchange. T. Stephens obviously refers to Thaddeus Stevens and Judge Kelley to William D. Kelley. Stevens, Kelley, and O'Neil were particularly important members of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. Emerson Etheridge was a Representative from Tennessee in 1853-1857 and 1859-1861, and was Clerk of the House of Representatives in 1861-1863. See *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950). The "Gen. Foster" was Major General John G. Foster, Commanding General of the Department of the South, who maintained his headquarters at Hilton Head, South Carolina. General Foster had served on the faculty of the United States Military Academy during a part of the time that General Hardee was Commandant of the

- school. A brief biography of General Foster may be found in *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VI, pp. 549-550. The "General Butler" was unquestionably Major General Benjamin F. Butler one of the most controversial figures of the period. He was the Commanding General of the Department of Virginia and North Carolina and the United States Commissioner for Prisoner Exchange. See *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 357-359. Judge Scott has not been identified. Captain Greene, later Major Greene, was captured at Trevillian Station, Virginia, June 11, 1864, and travelled the same prison circuit as Fraser. His somewhat bitter account may be found in *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 1068-1069. David L. Anderson has not been identified. A Captain David L. Anderson served in the 50th Ohio Infantry, but it is not known if he had been taken prisoner. The Armstrong referred to has not been identified as to rank and full name. The 147th New York was Colonel Miller's regiment, but there is no officer named Armstrong listed in its organization.
133. Although in Fraser's list the name of this officer appears to be Watson and although a Lieutenant Colonel Courtland C. Watson appears in some of the other lists the correct name is clearly Matson. The *Official Army Register* has been regarded as determinative of all questions of spelling, rank, and unit.
 134. Fraser's spelling is Von Helmrick. The letter "R" appears after the names of Colonels Crooks, Fraser, and von Helmrich and Lieutenant Colonel Conyngham.
 135. Major Hall's address is given as 358 West 42nd Street, New York or 353 Broadway. Fraser Notebook, p. 43.
 136. In charge of Mess 3, composed of 23 men. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
 137. The attempt to identify Major McClellan has been unsuccessful.
 138. On September 26, 1864, Senator John Sherman, of Ohio, and brother of General William T. Sherman, wrote from Mansfield, Ohio, to Edwin Stanton, Secretary of War, urging that a special exchange be arranged for Major W. Stanhope Marshall. Marshall's father, a resident of Mansfield, was in feeble health and unable to look after the extensive business interests of the family. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, p. 881. The officials in charge of trying to work out a general exchange arrangement took an extremely dim view of special exchange. Major Marshall was graduated from Jefferson College in 1856. It is likely that he was a student in some of Fraser's classes.
 139. It is reported that while at Macon, Georgia, Major Pasco refused to fill up an escape tunnel that had been started near his sleeping place and that he was hit over the head with a musket and confined for five days on bread and water. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 1007 and 1086.

140. Pruyn with two other officers was paroled by the Confederate officials to go north in order to arrange for their own special exchange. Pruyn was declared exchanged on October 19, 1864. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, pp. 710 and 1009.
141. There are two Major Reynolds in Fraser's list. William H. Reynolds was clearly one of them. A Major John Reynolds served in the 183rd Pennsylvania Infantry, the unit mentioned in note 130.
142. Major Stolbrand was the Chief Artillery Officer of the Fifteenth Army Corps, one of the units under the command of General William T. Sherman. Stolbrand's name does not appear in any of the prisoner lists probably because the officers captured from Sherman's forces were exchanged much earlier than the other prisoners.
143. See note 132.
144. Not identified.
145. A Lieutenant Richard Bascomb, 38th United States Colored Infantry, shared some of Fraser's prison experiences and described them to the investigating committee on November 24, 1867. *Treatment of Prisoners*, p. 1087. The spelling of his name coincides with that given by Fraser, but the rank does not. It seems more plausible to assume that Fraser erred in spelling the name rather than in assigning the correct rank.
146. Not identified.
147. A note appears against Captain Case's name in the list on p. 9 of the Notebook reading "with Col. Crooks."
148. On the page containing the names of Captains J. T. Chalfant and J. G. Derrickson and Lieutenants E. P. Alexander, W. H. Brady, and W. N. Paxton, there is the following note, "The above named gentlemen, prisoners of war at Columbia, S.C., are respectfully recommended to the tender mercies of Col. Hatch by John Fraser, Col. 140th Pa. Vols." It is also noted that Derrickson, Alexander, and Brady were captured at Petersburg on June 22, 1864; Chalfant on May 5, 1864, in the Wilderness; and Cook and Paxton on July 2, 1863, at Gettysburg. Colonel William H. Hatch was the Confederate Agent for Exchange.
149. A note against Captain Clinton's name in the list on p. 7 of the Notebook reads, "wishes to room with Col. La Grange."
150. The name of Captain Conrad appears in a list of escaped prisoners published in the New York *Tribune*, January 17, 1865.
151. Not identified.
152. Not identified.
153. Captain Gimber's name appears in a list of paroled prisoners published in the New York *Tribune*, March 15, 1865.
154. Captain Greene was captured at Trevillian Station, Virginia, June 11, 1864, and travelled the same prison circuit as Fraser. His somewhat bitter account may be found in *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp.

- 1068-1069. At the time of his testimony he was an Assistant Adjutant General, United States Volunteers.
155. It is almost impossible to decipher this name. Gerslin or Gustin are other possibilities.
156. See note 132.
157. Fraser lists two Heffleys as captains. Actually one of them seems to have been a lieutenant.
158. This name is spelled Hiel in the Fraser Notebook.
159. Not identified.
160. Captains S. F. Jones, 80th Illinois Infantry, and D. T. Jones, 1st Kentucky Cavalry, appear in some of the lists of prisoners.
161. Not identified.
162. See note 132.
163. Not identified.
164. His address is given in the Notebook as "J. T. Piggott, Jr., Care of J. T. Piggott, No. 15, North 4th St., Phila."
165. Not identified.
166. See note 130.
167. Fraser spelled this name Rider.
168. Declared exchanged on September 12, 1864. *Official Records*, Ser. II, Vol. VII, p. 806.
169. Captured on July 6, 1863, Captain Van Buren provided the investigating committee with an unusually detailed account, a part of which is in the form of a diary. *Treatment of Prisoners*, pp. 1101-1103.
170. The name of Captain Widdiss appears in the list of paroled prisoners published in the New York *Tribune*, March 15, 1865.
171. Not identified.
172. See note 132.
173. Escaped November 23, 1864. Glazier, *The Capture*, p. 199. Fraser spelled this name Barsh.
174. Fraser lists a Lieutenant Brant, but no comparable listing has been found.
175. On page 32 of his Notebook Fraser noted opposite the name of Lieutenant Brooks, "some of his men on board New York." The *New York* was the principal vessel used in exchanging prisoners.
176. Lieutenant Byers in early January, while a prisoner at Camp Asylum, wrote the words to the song "When Sherman Marched Down to the Sea." Byers had been captured at Missionary Ridge. He escaped on February 16, 1865. After the war he combined writing with a career in the diplomatic service. The music to the song was composed by Lieutenant J. O. Rockwell of the 97th New York Infantry. The words as well as a dramatic account of the premiere performance of the song by the Camp Asylum orchestra and chorus may be found in Isham, *Prisoners of War*, pp. 106-107.

Another description of the event appears in *Treatment of Prisoners*, p. 954. A portion of the song is printed in Willard A. and Porter W. Heaps, *The Singing Sixties: The Spirit of Civil War Days Drawn from the Music of the Times* (Norman, 1960), pp. 345-346. The publisher of the song paid Byers five dollars for it. The Heaps remark that a million copies of the song were sold and that General Sherman preferred it to "Marching through Georgia." The entire song is printed in Irvin Silber and Jerry Silverman, *Songs of the Civil War*, (New York, 1960), pp. 261-263. In this work the musical setting by E. Mack is used and the words are incorrectly attributed to S. B. M. Myers. In the Sheet Music Collection of the Kansas State Historical Society there is a copy of a third version published by Balmer and Weber of St. Louis with the words attributed to Adj. S. H. M. Byers and the musical arrangement to Henry Werner. There are slight variations in the wording of the three versions. A short sketch of the life of Lieutenant Byers is given in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1917) XIV, p. 150.

177. Captured at Winchester, Virginia, June 15, 1863, travelled the same circuit of prisons as Fraser, and prepared a brief statement for the investigating committee on October 27, 1867. *Treatment of Prisoners*, p. 1082.
178. A member of Fraser's regiment and his messmate.
179. See note 132.
180. This name is spelled Durfee in the Fraser Notebook.
181. Lieutenant Eckings was killed on November 26, 1864, while trying to escape. *Treatment of Prisoners*, p. 1090. Isham, *Prisoners of War*, p. 84.
182. Not identified.
183. "Captured October 14th/64 at Bristoe Station," Fraser Notebook, p. 44.
184. See note 132.
185. Not identified.
186. "Capt Apr 20th/64 at Plymouth, N.C." Fraser Notebook, p. 44.
187. The name of Lieutenant Lamson appears in the list of paroled prisoners published in the New York *Tribune*, March 15, 1865.
188. See note 130.
189. Not identified.
190. This identification is uncertain. Although it is difficult to decipher the handwriting it appears to be Millwood in the Fraser Notebook.
191. Address given as "108 College Street, New Haven, Connecticut" on p. 49 of the Notebook.
192. This name appears in the list of escaped prisoners published in the New York *Tribune*, January 17, 1865.
193. A member of Fraser's regiment and his messmate.

194. A note appears against Lt. Roach's name in the list on p. 9 of the Notebook, which reads "with Col. Crooks."
195. Designated as a "Paymaster" in Fraser Notebook.
196. Mentioned in *Treatment of Prisoners*, p. 950.
197. A Lieutenant R. H. Stewart, 2nd New York Artillery, appears in the list of paroled prisoners published by the New York *Tribune*, March 15, 1865.
198. On page 46 of the Fraser Notebook the address of Lieutenant Wilcox is given as "Box 3207, N.Y. City."
199. Not identified.